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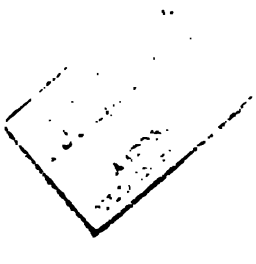

THE

WHOLE WORKS

OF THE

MOST REV. JAMES USSHER, D.D.,

LORD ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH, AND PRIMATE OF ALL IRELAND.

WITH

A LIFE OF THE AUTHOR,

AND

AN ACCOUNT OF HIS WRITINGS.

BY

CHARLES RICHARD ELRINGTON, D.D.,

REGIUS PROFESSOR OF DIVINITY IN THE UNIVERSITY OF DUBLIN.

IN SIXTEEN VOLUMES.

VOL. I.

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TO

THE PROVOST AND SENIOR FELLOWS

OF TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,

THIS EDITION

OF THE WORKS OF ARCHBISHOP USSHER,

UNDERTAKEN AT THEIR REQUEST,

AND PUBLISHED AT THEIR EXPENSE,

IS INSCRIBED,

BY THEIR FAITHFUL, HUMBLE SERVANT,

THE EDITOR.

ADVERTISEMENT.

THE EDITOR deeply regrets that he has been compelled to delay for so long a period the publication of the Works of Archbishop Ussher. When he undertook the task at the request of the Provost and Senior Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin, he was not aware of the difficulties which he had to encounter, and he entertained hopes of some leisure being afforded to him, which have not been realized. A combination of unexpected circumstances threw upon him a quantity of public business, which was sufficient to occupy the time of the most diligent, while the duties of his Professorship alone were pressing upon him with increased severity from the interruptions of long-continued and repeated illness, which obliged him at different periods to seek relief in another country. The Editor is very unwilling to speak so much of himself, but he feels great anxiety to make a sufficient apology for the delay to those, who must be unacquainted with the difficulties which impeded the progress of the work.

In editing the works of Archbishop Ussher the great difficulty arose from the unusual number of quotations to be found in them. The Editor has endeavoured to verify all these quotations, and he has changed the references to the more modern and more generally used editions. The numerous quotations from the Fathers he has referred to the Benedictine editions, whenever they existed, unless, as it sometimes happened, the Archbishop quoted a passage from spurious writings, which they rejected altogether. In other cases he has named the edition in the place where the quotation from an author first occurred. The labor and time necessary for such a work can be estimated only by those who have been engaged in similar undertakings. There are, no doubt, many omissions, and for these the Editor can only plead the excuse of the Roman poet:

Verum opere in longo fas est obrepere somnum.

He fears, too, that in some places errors of the Press have occurred. For this his apology must be, that he was at a considerable distance from the printing office when most of the work was printed, and that the printers had to struggle against the difficulties of very bad writing, more particularly in the Eastern languages.

A more agreeable duty now remains for him to discharge, to return his grateful thanks for assistance afforded him during the work. The first place must be appropriated to his valued friend, the Rev. James H. Todd, D. D., who, amidst numerous avocations, has

assisted him with his advice and varied information through every part of the work. He must next express his gratitude to the Rev. Henry Cotton, D. C. L., Archdeacon of Cashel, whose knowledge of books, and kindness in communicating it, are too well known to need his panegyric.

To the Rev. Dr. Bandinel, the learned Librarian of the Bodleian Library at Oxford, he is deeply indebted for indefatigable exertions in examining the various MSS. of the magnificent collection intrusted to his care, and communicating numerous letters, and other documents, which have been published in different parts of the work.

To the Rev. William Jacobson, Vice-Principal of Magdalen Hall, Oxford, he gladly acknowledges his obligation for assistance in procuring copies of many MSS. preserved at Oxford, more particularly of the Sermons, which were obtained from the Library of Balliol College, through the kindness of the Master, the Rev. Dr. Jenkyns.

TRINITY COLLEGE, DUBLIN,
Nov. 1, 1847.

THE LIFE

OF

JAMES USSHER, D.D.,

ARCHBISHOP OF ARMAGH.

James Ussher was born in the parish of St. Nicholas, in the city of Dublin, on the 4th day of January, 1580–1. His father, Arnold Ussher, was one of the Six Clerks in the Court of Chancery, and was descended from an English family of the name of Neville. The first of this family who settled in Ireland was usher to King John, and, coming over with that prince, changed the name of his family for that of his office[a], a practice not unusual at that period. His mother was Margaret, daughter of James Stanihurst, one of the Masters in Chancery, Recorder of Dublin, and Speaker of the Irish House of Commons in three successive Parliaments.

Of the early life of James Ussher only a few anecdotes have been transmitted. It is not a little remarkable that he was taught to read by two aunts who had been blind from their infancy. Of these relatives he always spoke with the greatest affection and respect, and from them he appears to have imbibed his first religious impressions.

[a] From this circumstance most writers spell the name of the Archbishop, Usher; but he appears himself always to have written it Ussher. In the Appendix will be found a genealogy written by the Archbishop himself; and another more detailed one, for which I am indebted to the kindness of Sir William Betham, Ulster King of Arms.

His aunts had most tenacious memories; they remembered whatever was read to them, and could repeat by heart a large portion of the Bible. To this book of books, as he always called it, the young student devoted his earliest attention; and he was able to say of himself, "that from a child he had known the Holy Scriptures, which are able to make a man wise unto salvation." Some of his biographers are anxious to point out the precise moment of time when his conversion took place, and have fixed upon his tenth year, when he heard a sermon preached on the passage in the Epistle to the Romans, "I beseech you, therefore, brethren, by the mercies of God, that ye present your bodies a living sacrifice, holy, acceptable unto God, which is your reasonable service." This is a mere attempt to support the doctrines of Calvin by a remarkable example. From all that has been handed down it may safely be concluded, that James Ussher was one of those happy individuals, who, educated in a deep sense of religion, and brought up in the fear of the Lord, had duly cherished the grace vouchsafed to him in baptism, and had been, day by day, assisted from on high to imitate, in all humility, his divine Master, and "grow in wisdom and stature, and favour with God and man."

A strange combination of circumstances supplied Dublin at this time with two schoolmasters of very superior attainments. James VI. of Scotland, doubtful of succeeding quietly to the throne of England on the death of Elizabeth, sent over[b] to Dublin in the year 1587 two clever emissa-

[b] Dr. M'Crie, in his Life of Knox, seems to doubt that they were sent over by James; but such a proceeding was perfectly consonant with the crooked policy of that extraordinary individual. Dr. Parr states it as an undoubted fact, and he surely must have heard from Archbishop Ussher the history of his tutor. And if any thing be wanted to confirm the evidence of Dr. Parr, it may be found in the honours conferred upon the two individuals, and the large grants of land made to them in Ireland by James. Birch, in his Life of Prince Henry, states, that they were first brought into notice by conveying the letters of some of the English lords "who worshipped the rising sun," to King James, in Scotland, and bringing back his answers, "that way being chosen as more safe than the direct northern road," in order to escape the vigilance of Elizabeth.

ries, James Fullerton[c] and James Hamilton[d], to keep up a correspondence with the Protestant nobility and gentry in the neighbourhood of Dublin: and they, to conceal more effectually the object of their mission, opened a school[e] in which Fullerton acted as the master, and Hamilton as the usher. Although the office of a schoolmaster was assumed merely for the purpose of concealment, yet both these individuals seem to have been eminently qualified to discharge its duties. It is most probable that Fullerton was an early pupil[f] of the learned Andrew Melville, who had brought from the Continent to the University of Glasgow a knowledge of the learned languages rarely possessed at that period, and who devoted himself to the instruction of those committed to his care. Dr. M'Crie has suggested the possibility that both Hamilton and Fullerton were class-fellows of Melville at St. Andrew's, because there appear in the list of admissions for his year, 1558, the names of James Fullerton and James Hamilton: but this seems absolutely impossible, for, as none of his class-fellows could be younger than Melville, who was admitted at twelve years of age, Hamilton must have been ninety-seven years of age at the time of his death in 1643; and yet only two years before he received a commission from the Lords Justices and Council,

[c] Afterwards one of the first Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin. He was knighted by King James, soon after his accession, and appointed one of the gentlemen of the bed-chamber.

[d] Afterwards one of the first Fellows of Trinity College, Dublin. In 1622 he was created, by James, Viscount of Claneboye.

[e] The school was opened in 1587, and it is remarkable that, in that same year it was ordered by the State, that no grammar but Lilly's should be taught in Ireland. The reason assigned for this extraordinary legislative enactment was, that the variety of grammars previously used in schools impeded the progress of the youth moving from one school to another. See Ware's Annals, ad. ann. 1587.

[f] That he was one of his most intimate friends is certain. Melville, in a letter to Sir James Sempill, of Beltrees, calls him his "intire and speciall friend;" and Fullerton was the person who communicated to Melville, when in banishment, the afflicting intelligence of his nephew's death. Fullerton died in 1630, and appears to have kept up his literary pursuits, after he had exchanged the life of a scholar for that of a courtier. Hume, in his Grammatica Nova, calls him, "virum doctum et in omni disciplina satis exercitatum," and speaks of discussing with him grammatical difficulties.

to raise the Scots in the north of Ireland and put them under arms, in order to resist the violent progress of the rebellion. It seems, then, nearly certain that the James Fullerton who came to Ireland was not the class-fellow, but the pupil[5] of Andrew Melville, *laureated* at Glasgow in 1581. Hamilton may also have been under the same tutor at St. Andrew's, for in 1585 James Hamilton was made Master of Arts, and at that time Melville had been for some years Principal of New College.

To the school opened under such extraordinary circumstances James Ussher was sent when eight years of age, and he continued there for five years, exciting the admiration of his instructors by his diligence and quickness. The pupil was not insensible to the value of the instruction he received from his masters, for Dr. Parr states, that "whenever he recounted the providences of God towards himself, he would usually say, that he took this for one remarkable instance of it, that he had the opportunity and advantage of his education from those men, who came thither by chance, and yet proved so happily useful to himself and others."

[5] Dr. M'Crie, in his Life of Melville, gives the following account of the course which Melville taught at Glasgow, completing it in six years. The class were well grounded in Latin before he commenced. "He began by initiating them into the principles of the Greek grammar. He then introduced them to the study of Logic and Rhetoric, using as his text-books the Dialectics of his Parisian master, Ramus, and the Rhetoric of Talæus. While they were engaged in these studies, he read with them the best classical authors, as Virgil and Horace among the Latins—and Homer, Hesiod, Theocritus, Pindar, and Isocrates among the Greeks; pointing out, as he went along, their beauties, and illustrating by them the principles of Logic and Rhetoric. Proceeding to Mathematics and Geography he taught the elements of Euclid with the arithmetic and geometry of Ramus, and the geography of Dionysius. And agreeably to this plan of uniting elegant literature with philosophy, he made the students use the Phenomena of Aratus, and the Cosmographia of Honter. Moral philosophy formed the next branch of study, and on this he read Cicero's Offices, Paradoxes, and Tusculan Questions, the Ethics and Politics of Aristotle, and certain dialogues of Plato. In Natural Philosophy he made use of Fernelius, and commented on parts of the writings of Aristotle and Plato. To these he added a view of Universal History, with Chronology, and the progress of the art of Writing. Entering upon the duties of his own immediate profession, he taught the Hebrew language, first, more cursorily, by going over the elementary work of Martinius, and afterwards by a more accurate examination of its principles, accompanied

Yet the course of instruction was not extensive, as it did not comprehend either Greek or Hebrew, for Ussher appears to have commenced learning both those languages after his admission into the University of Dublin.

On the 9th of January, 1593–4, Trinity College, Dublin, was first opened for the admission of students. The foundation of this College was closely connected with the family of James Ussher. His grandfather, Stanihurst[h], had made the first motion in Parliament for the establishment of an University in Dublin, and his uncle, Henry Ussher, Archdeacon of Dublin, and subsequently Archbishop of Armagh, had been sent[i] over twice to London, to negociate the matter, and had at length, in 1591, brought back with him the Queen's letter for its erection. At the time

with a praxis upon the Psalter and books of Solomon. He then initiated the students into Chaldee and Syriac, reading those parts of the books of Daniel and Ezra that are written in Chaldee, and the Epistle to the Galatians in the Syriac version. He also went through all the common heads of Divinity, according to the order of Calvin's Institutions, and gave lectures on the different books of Scripture."—*M'Crie's Life of Melville*, vol. i. pp. 67-9.

[h] Stanihurst appears to have been one of those persons who accommodated their religion to the times. He had been Speaker of the House of Commons under Mary, and he felt no scruples at continuing so under Elizabeth. From the letters of Campian, the Jesuit, to him, it seems evident that, as far as he had any religion, he continued a Roman Catholic to his death. The mother of Ussher, who professed to be a Protestant during the lifetime of her husband and for some years after his death, openly avowed herself a Roman Catholic when her son was absent in England, and resisted all his efforts to convert her from her errors. Her brother Richard was well known as a zealous controversialist in favour of Popery, and, after the death of his wife, took orders in the Roman Catholic Church.

[i] Dr. Bernard, and he is followed by Dr. Smith, in his Life of Ussher, states that the Archdeacon of Dublin was sent over to defeat the plan which Sir John Perrot had formed, of converting to his own use the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral. This is a most unfounded calumny against that unfortunate Deputy. The fact is, Sir John Perrot, like his successor in after times, Lord Strafford, fell a victim to his efforts for the recovery of the property of the Church: he was not able to struggle successfully with those who had scandalously seized her revenues. The plan of appropriating the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral to an University had been proposed in the government of Sir Henry Sydney, and Sir John Perrot received instructions on coming to Ireland to inquire, "how St. Patrick's in Dublin, and the revenue belonging to the same,

of the College being opened, Fullerton and Hamilton were appointed Fellows[k], in addition to the three persons named in the charter, and James Ussher was admitted a student under the tuition of his former master, James Hamilton, being then thirteen years of age[l].

Dr. Bernard states that Ussher was the first scholar entered into Dublin College, and that he had heard "it

may be made to serve for the purpose of an University, as hath been heretofore intended."—See Desider. Cur. Hiber. vol. i. p. 28. Perrot, in fulfilment of these instructions, proposed that the revenues of St. Patrick's Cathedral, then worth 4000 marks, should serve to begin the foundation of two Universities, and endow a couple of colleges in them with £1000 per annum a-piece. In each of these colleges six masters, with one hundred scholars, were to be settled. The six masters to be chosen out of the most learned residentaries of the Cathedral, who in their turns, three and three of each college, were to reside and keep hospitality in the several prebends whereunto the cure of souls was annexed. This plan would have removed many of the difficulties which impeded the progress of Trinity College, in consequence of want of funds, and does not afford the slightest appearance of an attempt, on the part of the Lord Deputy, to secure any property for himself. On the other hand, Archbishop Loftus had notoriously alienated to his family the revenues of two prebends, and had got a valuable lease from his brother-in-law, the Dean of St. Patrick's. These spoils would certainly have been wrested from him, had an inquiry been made into the revenues of the Cathedral, before they were transferred to the new colleges. The fear of being compelled to make this restitution can alone account for the rancorous hostility with which the Archbishop pursued his victim. The biographer of Sir John Perrot says: "The Archbishop stuck to him to the last, and was a main instrument in bringing him to his condemnation; and Perrot, in his last will, solemnly testified, that the Archbishop falsely belied him in his declaration against him." The biographer of Archbishop Loftus truly says: "The great qualities of this prelate were something tarnished by his excessive ambition and avarice. For, besides his promotions in the Church and his public employments in the State, he grasped at every thing that became void, either for himself or family." There was indeed one part of Sir John Perrot's plan which was most objectionable, his proposal to desecrate the cathedral and make it the courts of law, but this did not draw forth any animadversion from the Archbishop.

[k] Parr, in his Life of the Archbishop (and he has been followed by others), says that Hamilton was appointed a senior Fellow; but this is a mistake, for the distinction of senior and junior Fellows appears to have been first made in the year 1614.

[l] Dr. Parr states that Ussher was admitted into the College in the thirteenth year of his age: but this must be a mistake. He was in the fourteenth year of his age, for he was born on the 4th of January, 1580–1, and the College was opened on the 9th of January, 1593–4.

was so ordered upon design by the governors of it, observing the pregnancy and forwardness of him; that it might be a future honour to it to have it upon record, in the frontispiece of their admission-book, and so accordingly the first graduate, fellow, proctor, and all other degrees originally from thence." And Dr. Parr says, "that his name as the first Scholar there stands to this day on the first line of their roll[m]." He may have been the first student, but he certainly was not the first Scholar; for the list of them, in the handwriting of Provost Alvey, is still extant, and after the three named in the Charter stand Abel Walsh, Jacobus Ussher, Jacobus Lee. Ussher says of himself that he was "inter primos in illam admissos[n]."

The system of instruction adopted in the new College is thus described by Dr. Bernard: "The education which that College then gave was very eminent. At the first foundation there were but four[o] Fellows, and yet the tongues and arts were very exactly taught to all the students, being divided into several classes. Aristotle's text was read in Greek by each tutor to his pupils. Three lectures a day every Fellow read, at each of which there was a disputation upon what had been then read, or the lecture before, and, among other ways, they were ordered to dispute more Socratico. On Saturday, in the afternoon, each tutor read, in Latin, a lecture on divinity to his pupils, and dictated it so deliberately that they easily took it in writing; and so were their other lectures also."

The religious education of young Ussher appears to have been watched with unceasing vigilance, and at fourteen years of age he was called upon to receive the holy communion. This sacred rite produced a great effect upon his religiously disposed mind; and his biographer informs us that, in advanced life, he was accustomed to look back with complacency upon the strict retirement and rigorous

[m] The oldest admission-book now extant commences in the year 1637, and the first name is William, eldest son of Lord Strafford, aged eleven years and a half.

[n] Ussher's Letter to Hevelius.—Works, vol. xvi., p. 167.

[o] Henry Ussher, the Archdeacon of Dublin, named in the Charter as the first Fellow, does not appear ever to have acted.

self-examination which always preceded his approach to the Lord's table, and to lament the little improvement which increasing years had produced. He observed with peculiar strictness the Lord's day; and his early piety led him to deplore as a sin his too great attachment to literary pursuits, that he could not welcome with more joy the approach of the day devoted to the service of his God than of that which restored him to his studies.

At this early period of his life he appears to have devoted himself to study with an ardour and perseverance extraordinary for his years. Admitted into the University, unacquainted with either the Greek or Hebrew languages, he must have used no common diligence to acquire the knowledge which he soon displayed in them. He was not inattentive to the study of logic and the Aristotelic philosophy then so much in fashion. But the decided leaning of his mind was to historical and chronological inquiries. It is said that he was first struck with the passage in Cicero, "Nescire quid antea quam natus sis acciderit, id est semper esse puerum." And, indeed, he alludes to the circumstance in the dedication of the Antiquities of the British Churches to King Charles, using the strong expressions, "Indeque mihi insitum fuisse diffiteri non possum rerum gestarum et memoriæ veteris ordinem cognoscendi singulare quoddam et prope incredibile desiderium." The first work which confirmed this inclination was, "Sleidan de quatuor monarchiis;" and so rapid was the progress made by the youthful student[p], that, ere he reached his nineteenth year, he had drawn up, in Latin, a chronicle of the Bible, as far as the Book of Kings, differing not much from the Annals which were published at the close of his long and laborious life.

The circumstances of the times and the peculiar situation of his own family, divided as it was between the Roman Catholic and Protestant Churches, exercised an irresistible force upon the mind of Ussher, to devote a considerable portion of his time to the study of polemical divinity. With that can-

[p] Some biographers have stated, that in his early life he manifested a strong inclination for poetry, and was much devoted to card-playing.

dour which distinguished him through the whole period of his life, he appears to have studied the works of the principal writers on both sides of the question, and the work which exercised a considerable influence upon the course of his subsequent studies was Stapleton's "Fortress of the Faith." The chief strength of Stapleton's argument lay in the attempt to establish the antiquity of the Romish faith and the novelty of the reformed Church, which he professed to maintain by the whole current of tradition transmitted through the works of the Fathers. Ussher, even at that early period, was impressed with the truth of Tertullian's maxim, "Verum quodcunque primum, adulterum quodcunque posterius," and he determined to read through the works of the Fathers, and ascertain whether the appeal of Stapleton was founded in fact. This prodigious task he executed in eighteen years, commencing in the twentieth and terminating in the thirty-eighth year of his age. The fruit of his labours he intended to have communicated to the world in the Bibliotheca Theologica, but he never completed the work, never indeed finished any part of it. It has been stated by some writers, that Stapleton's work had been put into his hands by his uncle, Richard Stanihurst, in order to win him over to the Roman Catholic faith; but this is not very probable, as Stanihurst had been long resident at Louvain, and not much intercourse appears to have been kept up between them[q], as Ussher, in the only letter to his uncle which has been preserved, tells him he had never been able to procure his work, "Margarita Maria," and other writings, *if there be any.*

There is no record extant of the time when Ussher took

They seem to forget the age of the individual about whom they are speaking; and the stories may well be doubted when we have such proofs of his literary progress before he attained the age of fourteen.

[q] Wood, in his Life of Stanihurst, says, that "he, being a zealous Romanist, and Ussher (afterwards Primate of Ireland) a zealous Protestant, passed several letters between them concerning religion, Stanihurst endeavouring, to his utmost, to gain him to his opinion; but it is thought, and verily believed by some, that Ussher was too hard for his uncle in controversial points relating to divinity." Wood gives no authority for this story, and it no where appears among the other biographers of the Archbishop.

his degree of Bachelor of Arts. Dr. Smith states, that he obtained it when in his seventeenth year: it is probable, therefore, that he commenced A.B. in July, 1597. An interruption to all his favourite pursuits was now threatened; his father urged him strongly to the study of law as a professional pursuit, and wished to send him over to the Inns of Court in London. Ussher felt the greatest repugnance to commence this course of study, but such was his reverence for parental authority, that he was preparing to comply, when his father's death, on the 12th of August, 1598, left him at liberty to choose his profession. Dr. Parr states that a considerable estate devolved to the eldest son on the death of his father, but burdened with law-suits and portions for his seven sisters; that the young student, fearful of being taken away from the pursuits to which he was now permitted to devote himself, made over this property to his brother and sisters, reserving to himself only a small sum, sufficient for the purchase of some books and for his maintenance in the College; and that, as a proof how well he understood what he was doing, he drew out an exact account of the estate and leases left to him, and also of the suits and incumbrances which lay upon it, with directions what to do in them, and committed the whole to his uncle[r], as guardian to his brother and sisters, to be managed for their use. It is to be supposed that the biographers anticipate events, for James Ussher was not eighteen when his father died, and, therefore, could not have made over the property. He most probably did so when he came of age.

In August, 1598, died also Lord Burleigh, Chancellor of the University of Dublin; and to him succeeded Robert Earl of Essex, who was soon after appointed Lord Deputy of Ireland, and arrived in Dublin in April, 1599[s]. The

[r] Dr. Parr does not mention the name of the uncle; but it is most probable it was George Ussher. Arnold was the youngest of three brothers, Henry, Archbishop of Armagh, being the eldest, and George, a merchant, the second, who died in 1609.

[s] The biographers of Ussher make strange confusion as to dates. They make the performance of the Act before the Earl of Essex to precede the death of Arnold Ussher; but this is impossible, for he died before Essex was appointed Chancellor of the University. The records of the Univer-

University, to welcome their new Chancellor, had a solemn Act performed for his entertainment, and Ussher was selected as the respondent in the philosophical disputation, a task which he performed with great applause. But he soon undertook a more serious disputation, encountering the learned Jesuit, Henry Fitz-Symonds[t], on the questions

sity do not fix the date of the entertainment given to the Chancellor; but it is well known that the Earl of Essex landed in Dublin on the 15th of April, 1599, and left it in the September following. It is not improbable that the visit of the Chancellor was soon after his arrival in Dublin, for on the 3rd of May, 1599, he continued, during pleasure, a concordatum of £40 per annum before granted by the Lords Justices.

[t] Henry Fitz-Symonds was the son of a merchant in Dublin, and matriculated as a member of Hart's Hall, Oxford, April 16, 1583, being then fourteen years of age. It seems probable that he was elected a student of Christ's Church in the following December. It does not appear how long he remained at the University, or whether he took a degree there. But sure it is, says Wood, "that being in his mind then, if not before, a Roman Catholic, he went beyond the seas, entered himself into the Society of Jesus, and made so great a proficiency under the instruction of Leonard Lessius that in a short time he became so eminent that he taught publicly among them philosophy for several years." After some time he returned to Ireland, where he was more than ordinarily active in making proselytes to the Roman Catholic faith, either by private conference or public disputations with the Protestant clergy. In this work he continued unmolested for two years, and gained the character of such an able and subtle disputant that few or none would contend with him. At length he attracted the notice of the Government, and was confined in Dublin Castle. At the end of five years he obtained his liberty on the promise of behaving quietly, and giving no further disturbance to the King or realm. He retired into voluntary exile in the Low Countries; but, in 1608, being summoned to Rome, he was appointed for the mission to Ireland; and, forgetful of his promise, returned to that country, and employed many years in the same course which he had pursued before his imprisonment. He was an active promoter of the rebellion in 1641, and after the overthrow of the rebels suffered severely in his attempts to escape the English army. He was obliged to shelter in the woods and mountains, and at length, in the year 1643, he took refuge in a bog, where the miserable hovel in which he slept neither afforded him shelter from the inclemency of the weather, nor from the water which rose from below. This wretched situation could not subdue his habitual cheerfulness, or prevent him from instructing and comforting those who flocked to him for advice. However the weight of years sunk under these accumulated sufferings, and he died on the 1st of February, 1643-44, being then seventy-five years of age. By his death, concludes Anthony Wood, the Roman Catholics lost a pillar of their Church, being esteemed, in the better part of his life, a great ornament among them,

controverted between the Roman Catholics and Protestants. Fitz-Symonds was confined in the Castle of Dublin, and declared that, "as he was a prisoner, he was like a bear tied to a stake, and wanted some to bait him." This was considered as a challenge. Dr. Smith says, that two or three theologians, venerable for their age and ecclesiastical station, had entered the lists; but finding it of no use to answer his calumnies, or chastise his madness, relinquished the task. But from the other biographers it would appear that Ussher was the only person who encountered him in a public disputation; but how he came to be selected is not mentioned. Saldenus[v] asserts, that he was chosen by the unanimous consent of the University; but he does not give his authority, and we search for it in vain. Fitz-Symonds boldly offered to maintain those points in the Roman Catholic religion which were considered by Protestants as the weakest, and to oppose those in their doctrine which they thought the strongest. Dr. Bernard states, that the subject of disputation was the controversies of Bellarmine; that a meeting once a week was agreed upon; and that the first topic proposed was concerning Antichrist; that twice or thrice they had solemn disputations, though the Jesuit acknowledges but one; that Ussher was ready to go on, but the Jesuit was weary of it. Far different is the account which Fitz-Symonds published of the transaction, many years afterwards, in the dedication of his work called Britannomachia Ministrorum. He says: "Prodiit quidem semel in summa vocis vultusque trepidatione, octodenarius præcocis sapientiæ (non tamen malæ, ut videtur, indolis) juvenis, nescio an auræ popularis cupidior, saltem de abstrusissimis rebus theologicis, cum adhuc philosophica studia non esset emensus, nec ephebis egressus, disputandi avidus. Hunc autem jussi suorum calculos adferre, quibus pugil seu agonista idoneus renunciaretur, et vel cum ipso disputationem me initurum. Sed sicut ipsi eum minime tanto honore dignati sunt, ita me vicissim sua

and the greatest defender of their religion in his time.—Wood, Athen. Oxon., vol. iii. p. 97.

[v] Sald. de lib., p. 368. Act. Erud. Lips. 1687, p. 115.

deinceps præsentia dignatus ipse non fuit." In quoting this passage the biographers of Ussher have stopped at the word "avidus," and put an *et cetera* after it. This afforded to Bayle grounds for a sneer at them, as if they suppressed whatever was inconsistent with their own story; and he adds, that some untruths must necessarily be told, either in the Jesuit's narrative, or in that of the authors of Ussher's life. On the alternative it is not difficult to decide. A letter from Ussher to Fitz-Symonds is still preserved, which demonstrates that the statement made by the Jesuit is false. The letter is as follows:

"I was not prepared, Mr. Fitz-Symonds, to write unto you before you had first written unto me concerning some chief points of your religion, as at our last meeting you promised. But, seeing that you have deferred the same (for reasons best known to yourself), I thought it not amiss to inquire further of your mind concerning the continuance of the conference begun between us; and to this I am rather moved because I am credibly informed of certain reports, which I would hardly be persuaded should proceed from him who, in my presence, pretended so great love and affection to me. If I am a boy (as it hath pleased you very contemptuously to name me), I give thanks to the Lord that my carriage towards you hath been such as could minister no just occasion to despise my youth. Your spear, belike, is, in your own conceit, a weaver's beam; and your abilities such that you desire to encounter with the stoutest champion in the host of Israel, and, therefore, like the Philistine, you contemn me as being a boy. Yet this I would fain have you to know, that I neither came then, nor do come now, unto you in any confidence of any learning that is in me (in which respect, notwithstanding, I thank God I am what I am), but I come in the name of the Lord of Hosts, whose companies you have reproached, being certainly persuaded that even out of the mouths of babes and sucklings he was able to shew forth his own praises; for the further manifestation whereof, I do again earnestly request you that, setting

aside all vain comparison of persons, we may go plainly forward in examining the matters that rest in controversy between us. Otherwise I hope you will not be displeased if, as for your part you have begun, so I also, for my own part, may be bold, for the clearing of myself, and the truths which I profess, freely to make known what hath already passed concerning this matter. Thus entreating you, in a few lines, to make known unto me your purpose in this behalf, I end. Praying the Lord that both this and all other enterprises that we take in hand may be so ordered as may most make for the advancement of his own glory, and the kingdom of his Son, Jesus Christ,

"Tuas ad aras usque,
"JAMES USSHER."

This letter, written at the time, and addressed to Fitz-Symonds himself, must give a more correct account of the transaction than the preface to the Britannomachia, published in a foreign country, and twenty years afterwards. The letter, indeed, is quite decisive. Ussher could not address a letter to Fitz-Symonds, alluding directly to more than one disputation which had been carried on between them, if Fitz-Symonds had refused to dispute at all with him, unless accredited by some competent authority. He could not refer to the terms of love and affection which Fitz-Symonds had professed towards him, if he had been treated in the manner which the Jesuit describes[w].

In the year 1600 Ussher took the degree of Master of Arts. It does not appear from the College records at what time he was appointed a Fellow of Trinity College. At that period it appears to have been the practice to appoint Masters of Arts lecturers, who assumed by degrees the name and privileges of Fellows; and in the first College

[w] Were it necessary to confirm the evidence of Ussher's letter, the Jesuit himself acknowledged that he was silenced. Saldenus says: "Fastidiosam viri præfidentiam ita perdomuit ut ad novum provocatus conflictum declinarit eum non tantum, sed et ad ἰχεμυθίαν redactum se esse ipse confessus sit."—De libr., p. 368. Fitz-Symonds called Ussher, "Acatholicorum doctissimum."

account-book there is an entry, in December-quarter, 1600, of £10 wages for four Masters, viz., Mr. Walsh, Mr. Ussher, Mr. Lee, and Mr. Richardson. Ussher was immediately after appointed Catechist to the College, and the first Proctor, as he himself mentions in a letter to Archbishop Laud[x]. The first public commencement in the College was held on Shrove Tuesday, 1600–1. In October, 1601, we first find the name of Ussher subscribed to a College document, a consent on the part of the Fellows to the appointment of John Alvey to the Provostship. Travers, who had been the first Provost (for the appointment of Archbishop Loftus was merely nominal), left the College in 1598, frightened, as it is said, by the disturbances in Ireland, or more probably feeling that his great support was lost by the death of Lord Burleigh. The Fellows did not proceed to an election, and the College was without a Provost till 1601, when the Queen named Henry Alvey[y].

The extraordinary selections made by the English government for the management of the infant Irish College must have materially contributed to influence the early theological opinions of Ussher. The newly-founded society must have been considered by Lord Burleigh, and others of his party, as a proper refuge for Puritans, who would not have been tolerated in any similar position in England. No other reason can be assigned for the selection of Travers, perhaps the most improper man in England

[x] See Works, vol. xv., p. 551.

[y] The form was as follows:

"Actum est 8vo die Oct., 1601., Regni Reginæ Eliz. 43.

"Noverint universi per præsentes, quod cum magister Gualterus Travers nuper Collegii Sanctæ et Individuæ Trinitatis Reginæ Eliz., juxta Dublin dignissimus Præpositus esset, eodemque munere per quinquennum fidelissime fungeretur, quod nunc in ejus locum magister Henricus Alvey, qui binis Sociorum Collegii publicisque regni senatorum literis vocatus et invitatus fuit, nobis ejusdem Collegii Sociis et prælectoribus consentientibus, suffectus sit. In cujus rei testimonium nomina infra subscripsimus anno et die supra memoratis.

"Lucas Chaloner. Carolus Dunn. Johannes Brereton. Abell Walshe. James Ussher. Georgius Lee. James Boyd. Johannes Richardson."

for the place. When the Mastership of the Temple was vacant, Lord Burleigh wished to appoint Travers; but Archbishop Whitgift opposed the nomination, and told the Queen "that Mr. Travers[a] had been one of the chief and principal authors of dissensions in the Church, a contemner of the Book of Prayers, and other orders by authority established; an earnest seeker of innovation, and either in no degree of the ministry at all, or else ordered beyond the seas[a], not according to the form in this Church of England used." When Lord Burleigh wrote to the Archbishop strongly recommending Travers, and stating that he would be conformable to the orders of the Church, the Archbishop, replied, "that Travers was better known, he thought, to no man than himself; that when he (the Archbishop) was Master of Trinity College he had elected him Fellow of that house; that he had been before rejected by Dr. Beaumont, the former Master, for his intolerable stomach. Whereof he (the Archbishop) had afterwards such experience that he was forced, by due punishment, so to weary him that he was fain to travel, departing from the College to Geneva, otherwise he should have been expelled for his want of conformity towards the orders of the house, and for his pertinacity; and that there never was any under his government in whom he found less submission and humility than in him; that his book, De Disciplina Ecclesiastica, was wholly against the State and Government." Such was the man selected to be the first Provost of the College founded for the education of the Irish clergy. Nor were the Government more successful in their choice of a successor. Henry Alvey[b] was a Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge, and appears in his religious opinions not to have differed much from Travers. He was certainly connected with Cartwright and the other Puritans of that day. His puritanical principles did not, however, teach

[a] Strype's Life of Whitgift, vol. i., p. 173.

[a] Travers was ordained by the Presbytery at Antwerp. The testimonial of his ordination is given by Fuller, Ch. Hist. b. 9, p. 214.

[b] His only literary publication was a treatise in defence of usury, for which, says Ware, "he was severely handled in an answer which I have never seen."

him to perform his duty; and when the plague broke out in Dublin, with shameful cowardice he deserted his place, and fled to England, leaving the College to the care of James Ussher. While such were the men selected for the Provostship, we find the notorious Humfrey Fenn, after having escaped from the punishment inflicted upon him along with Cartwright, coming over to Dublin and assisting Dr. Chaloner in his parish, while an allowance was given to him from the College. These examples must have exercised a most pernicious influence upon the minds of the young students in divinity, and it is only surprising that any germ of affection for the doctrine and discipline of the Church of England could have survived in so corrupted an atmosphere. In Ussher we shall see that, however apparent were the traces of early associations, yet, in later years, the effects of this prava disciplina were almost obliterated. The pernicious practice which marred the early progress of the Irish University extended over the whole Irish Church. Whenever a man became so troublesome that it was necessary to get rid of him, whenever powerful interest claimed promotion for an individual whom the Government were ashamed to promote in England, he was sent over to Ireland, and obtained a high station in its Church. This state of things continued after the Restoration; the abuse was strongly and frequently complained of by Primate Boulter, and traces of it have existed even in the memory of the present generation.

As Catechist Ussher distinguished himself in a very remarkable manner. Every week he explained the pure principles of the Christian religion, as professed and maintained by the reformed Churches, in opposition to the errors which had mixed themselves with primitive Christianity in the creed of the Roman Catholic Church; and this task he performed with such a display of accurate knowledge on the most controverted subjects, and such a readiness and fluency of expression, that his friends anxiously pressed him to appear in the pulpit. This he steadily refused, pleading his youth as a sufficient excuse, until he was called forward by an appointment which compelled him to appear in public. Such

any great assembly should be made before them, to persuade the people, by all good means and ways, to their seeming good, and especially by their own examples, to observe all orders for Divine Service; and to embrace, and devoutly to observe, the order and services of the Church Established in the realm by Parliament or otherwise." However, after the battle of Kinsale, the hopes of the Roman Catholics were destroyed, and they appear to have submitted themselves to the laws by attending, in great numbers, the different churches. To provide instruction for these numerous congregations, the Lord Deputy and Council directed the different clergymen to distribute themselves among the churches of Dublin, and preach a sermon in the afternoon of every Lord's day. For this purpose James Ussher was appointed to preach in the Church of St. Catherine, where he arranged the heads of each discourse into questions and answers for the following Sunday, on which day many persons of mature age voluntarily presented themselves to repeat the answers before the whole congregation, and thus raised the attention, and contributed to the instruction, of the Roman Catholics present. It is said that the effect of these regulations was such, that not only in Dublin, but in different parts of the kingdom, the Roman Catholics were so diligent in attending divine service, that if on any day they were prevented from being present, they made an apology to the churchwardens. This state of affairs did not continue long. The English government were anxious to prove that they did not persecute for religion, and sent to put a stop to what they deemed an unwarrantable exercise of authority. Lord Mountjoy, the Lord Deputy, in a letter, dated February 26th, 1602–3, thus expresses his satisfaction at the instructions: "And[a] whereas it pleased your Lordships in your last letters to command us to deal moderately in the great matter of religion, I had, before the receipt of your Lordships letters, presumed to advise such as dealt in it, for a time to hold a more restrained hand therein, and we were both thinking

[a] Moryson, B. iii., chap. i., p. 267.

ourselves, what course to take in the revocation of what was already done, with least encouragement to them and others, since the fear that this course begun in Dublin would fall upon the rest, was apprehended over all the kingdom, so that I think your Lordships direction was to great purpose, and the other course might have overthrown the means to our own end of reformation of religion. Not that I think too great preciseness can be used in the reforming of ourselves, the abuses of our own clergy, Church livings, or discipline, nor that the truth of the Gospel can with too great vehemence or industry be set forward in all places, and by all ordinary means most proper unto itself, that was set forth and spread in meekness, nor that I think any corporal prosecution or punishment can be too severe for such as shall be found seditious instruments of foreign or inward practices, nor that I think it fit, that any principal magistrates should be chosen without taking the oath of obedience, nor tolerated in absenting themselves from publick divine service, but that we may be advised how we do punish in their bodies or goods any such only for religion, as do profess to be faithful subjects to her Majesty, and against whom the contrary cannot be proved[f]."

[f] It appears however, that this pecuniary mulct was not entirely given up, for, in a petition presented to the King, in the year 1613, against the Lord Deputy, it is stated, among other grievances, "that the Statute made the 2nd of Elizabeth, laying a penalty of 12*d.* every Sunday and holiday for not going to church, is put strictly in execution in many places; but the said money, being a matter of great value over the whole kingdom, is not employed upon the poor, according to the Statute, but brought into the hands of the clerks of those courts, but how they dispose it the parishioners or churchwardens know not." And the Lord Deputy, answering this charge, states, "that the Statute of Recusants hath of late been put in execution in the county of Dublin more strictly than in any other county, in regard the eyes of all the kingdom are upon it, and attend what course the inhabitants of this county will take, to the end they may follow the same. Howbeit, there hath not been levied upon the recusants of this county within these twelve months last past above £14 or £15, or thereabouts; by reason that most of them that were prosecuted did choose rather to come to church than to pay the penalty of 12*d.* a Sunday; upon which conformity all arrears were remitted unto them; which course, if it be continued in the county as it is begun, and be

The sanction thus given to the violation of the Act of Uniformity excited considerable alarm in many, and in none more than in Ussher. He feared that the permission given by the Government for the free exercise of the Roman Catholic religion would tend to the disturbance of the Government, both in Church and State, and still further would be offensive in the sight of God, as sanctioning idolatrous practices. Not deterred from his sense of duty by any fear of man, he determined to take the opportunity of a sermon which he was called upon to preach in Christ Church before the State, for declaring his opinion of the sinfulness of the measures recently adopted. He chose for his text the sixth verse of the fourth chapter of Ezekiel, "And thou shalt bear the iniquity of the house of Judah forty days; I have appointed thee each day for a year." This prophecy had been interpreted as specifying the time of forty years to the destruction of Jerusalem for their idolatry, and the youthful preacher made a direct application of them to his own country, in these remarkable words, "From this year will I reckon the sin of Ireland, that those whom you now embrace shall be your ruin, and you shall bear their iniquity."

It is stated in all the Lives of Ussher that he made this prophetical denunciation in 1601, and that its fulfilment, in the rebellion and massacre of 1641, excited in the minds of many a conviction that the preacher was inspired. Dr. Bernard says that Ussher himself was strongly impressed with a conviction of its fulfilment: "What a continued expectation," says he, "he had of a judgment upon that his native country, I can witness from the year 1624, when I had the happiness first to be known to him, and the nearer the time

prosecuted in like manner in other counties, will bring the most part of the kingdom to church, except some few of great estate of living, who are more obstinate than the rest. And touching the monies levied in the county of Dublin, it is, indeed, left in the hands of the Clerk of the Crown, by a special order from the Lord Deputy and Council, to be employed in repairing of churches and bridges, and like charitable uses, because the poor of the parishes, who are not yet indicted, are not fit to receive the same, being recusants, and ought to pay the like penalty."—*Desiderata Cur. Hibern.* vol. i., pp. 249, 274.

every year the more confident, to my after wonder and admiration, there being nothing visibly tending to the fear of it." But from the events just related, it is evident that the sermon could not have been preached in 1601, that it must have been preached in the end of 1602, or in the course of 1603. Ussher was not ordained till December, 1601, at which time the battle of Kinsale took place. Subsequent to this was the influx of Roman Catholics into the churches, and the appointment of the preachers to the different parishes, so that even if the sermon had been caused by the advice to which Lord Mountjoy alludes, as having been given by him, it must have been preached late in the year 1602, and as it was most probably not preached till after the official declaration made in consequence of the communications from England, we must fix the date of March, 1602-3, or 1603, so that all prophetical accuracy is removed from the sermon: it was a judicious conjecture, or more probably a mere application of the remarkable prophecy to Ireland, where the preacher fixed the commencement of the period from the sin of Ireland, but did not exactly limit it to forty years.

A circumstance to which military history affords few parallels occurred about this time in Ireland. The English army, after having suppressed the rebellion of the native Irish, and taken Kinsale from their allies the Spaniards, determined to testify their respect for learning, and subscribed the sum of £1800 for the use of the library in Trinity College, Dublin. This sum was intrusted to Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Ussher, who were sent to London, for the purpose of purchasing books. The anecdote related by Bernard, that Ussher visited Christopher Goodman, in Chester, on his death-bed, fixes the date of this mission to the year 1603, for Goodman died on the 4th of June, 1603[s].

[s] Dr. Bernard mentions that Ussher, on his journey "visited Mr. Christopher Goodman, who had been Professor of Divinity in Edward the Sixth's days, then lying on his death bed at Chester, and that he would be often repeating some grave wise speeches he heard from him." The biographer does not mention the cause of Ussher visiting Goodman. It most probably arose from some acquaintance formed by his father or

These two faithful and attached members of Dublin College executed their task with great diligence and skill. It is not a little remarkable that they met in London Sir Thomas Bodley, then engaged in a similar occupation for the purpose of making his magnificent bequest to the University of Oxford, and these distinguished individuals became known to each other, giving mutual assistance in their difficult undertaking.

Soon after the return of Ussher from London he was presented[h] by Archbishop Loftus to the chancellorship of St. Patrick's Cathedral. To this dignity the parish of Finglass belonged, and there he preached every Lord's day. His biographers are not content with detailing his anxious fulfilment of the duties imposed upon him, but always strive, with unnecessary zeal, to find some extraordinary cause for exalting his services. They state, in the present instance,

uncle with Goodman, when he went over to Ireland as chaplain to Sir Henry Sydney. Ussher certainly could not at any time of his life have approved of Goodman's opinions. The truth is, says Wood, "Goodman was a most violent nonconformist, and for rigidness in opinion he went beyond his friend Calvin, who remembers and mentions him in his Epistles, 1561." Goodman was known by a book against the government of women, which he published in hatred to Queen Mary. The title was, "How superior Powers ought to be obeyed of their Subjects, and wherein they may lawfully, by God's Law, be disobeyed and resisted, wherein is declared the Cause of all this present Misery in England, and the only way to remedy the same. Printed at Geneva by John Crispin, MDLVIII." This book (as also the similar one by John Knox) was disapproved of by Beza, Fox, and most of the Protestants at Geneva. In the reign of Elizabeth Goodman promised "never to write, teach, nor preach any such offensive doctrine," and in the year 1571 was compelled to sign a protestation of his obedience to the Queen. The whole document is given by Strype, Annals, vol. ii. p. 1, pag. 141; yet he does not appear to have much changed his sentiments, for Strype says, "I find him in Cheshire, anno 1584, a refuser of subscription to the Articles, and a dissuader of others thereto. Of whom Archbishop Whitgift complained unto the Lord Treasurer, that it was Mr. Goodman, a man that for his perverseness was sufficiently known."

[h] The date of the presentation cannot be ascertained. Harris, in his edition of Ware, gives the date of 1607, but this must be a mistake, as Archbishop Loftus died in April, 1605. The appointment must have taken place between the end of 1603 and the beginning of 1605. It is probable that he then resigned his fellowship. He certainly was not a Fellow in 1606.

that, as Chancellor, he was not under any obligation to preach at Finglass; but this must be a mistake, for as there was not a vicar endowed, the cure of souls was in the dignitary. That he fulfilled the duty imposed upon him with exemplary fidelity and diligence is surely praise enough. He indeed took care that his successors should be exonerated from this duty, and when he was about to resign the chancellorship for the bishopric of Meath, he endowed a vicarage with a glebe, and a portion of the tithes. The deed bears date in 1621. This dignity was the only ecclesiastical preferment which Ussher enjoyed, until his promotion to the episcopal bench. "Here," says Dr. Parr, "he lived single for some years, and kept hospitality proportionable to his income, nor cared he for any overplus at the year's end (for indeed he was never a hoarder of money); but for books and learning he had a kind of laudable covetousness, and never thought a good book, either manuscript or print, too dear."

In the year 1606, Ussher again visited England for the purpose of consulting books and manuscripts[1]. During this visit he became acquainted with the two celebrated antiquarians, Camden and Sir Robert Cotton. Camden was, at this time, preparing a new edition of his Britannia, and he applied to Ussher for information about Nennius and St. Patrick, and also with respect to the antiquities of Ireland, particularly of Dublin. The answers to these inquiries Camden inserted in his description of Dublin, and added this flattering acknowledgment, "Hæc de Dublinio, quorum plurima diligentiæ et doctrinæ Jacobi Usheri, cancellarii ecclesiæ S. Patricii, qui annos varia doctrina et judicio longe superat, me debere agnosco." The history and ecclesiastical antiquities of Ireland had for a long time attracted the attention of Ussher, and now divided his studies with his laborious undertaking of reading through the works of the Fathers. From this period it was his practice to visit Eng-

[1]He also purchased a considerable number of books for himself and for his college. A list of them, with the prices annexed to several, is still extant in his handwriting, and preserved among the MSS. of Trinity College, Dublin.

land every third year, and spend one month at Oxford, another at Cambridge, and the third in London, where the collection of Sir Robert Cotton was the object of greatest attraction.

In the year 1607 Ussher took the degree of Bachelor of Divinity. His biographers have not transmitted the subjects of disputation on this occasion; but Dr. Bernard states, that when he performed the acts, he only committed to paper the heads of the several subjects, and, as in his English sermons, trusted for the rest to "the strength of his memory and his present expression." He expressed himself in Latin with great fluency, and, even at a late period of his life, when, during his Primacy, he acted as moderator of a disputation[j], at St. Patrick's, he excited the admiration of his auditory by the fluency of his language, though he could not have had any practice for more than seventeen years.

Immediately after his taking this degree he was appointed Professor of Divinity[k] in the University of Dublin, and continued to deliver lectures during the following fourteen years, at first twice, afterwards once in every week. His principal subject was an answer to the controversies of Bellarmine. Dr. Bernard says, he read three volumes of these lectures, and that it would be an honour to the University where they were read, to have them published. There is only one volume now in existence, and it does not appear that the other two were ever deposited in the Library of Trinity College. The volume now in existence bears evidence of having been commenced with an intention of publishing the lectures, but they are left unfinished in every part; I have, however, printed them in the fourteenth volume of the Archbishop's works, as much anxiety was expressed to have them made public. There is a great deal

[j] Dr. Bernard has recorded, that in the speech which the Archbishop delivered on that occasion, he took occasion to defend the use of hoods for graduates, against the charge of being Popish ornaments, and maintained that they were used in the time of Basil and Gregory Nazianzenus.

[k] The origin of the Divinity Professorship was a legacy from James Cottrell, Esq., of £8 per annum for ever, towards the maintenance of a Divinity lecturer.

of information contained in them, imperfect as they are, and a remarkable display of logical acuteness in a contest with the most learned and able disputant of the Romish Church.

It appears from the letters that passed between him and Dr. Ward[1], that he was at this time laboriously employed in arranging the Canons of the ancient Church. His discovery of the true arrangement was, however, anticipated, as he states himself, "by a learned Parisian:" that learned Parisian was Leschassier, who published an anonymous tract, the title of which is, "Consultatio Parisii cujusdam de controversia inter Sanctitatem Pauli Quinti et serenissimam rempublicam Venetam ad virum clarissimum Venetum." They both arrived at the same conclusion, that the first collection of Canons consisted only of those made at the first general Council, and the five provincial Councils, the Canons of Nice, Ancyra, Neocæsarea, Gangra, Antioch, and Laodicea, to which were subsequently added those promulgated in the general Councils which followed. Ussher, however, states that he "resolved after the same manner, but upon somewhat a more sure ground." I suppose he alludes to the testimony of Dionysius Exiguus, which had been made use of by him, and not noticed by Leschassier, for in all other respects the arguments are similar; they discovered that the Canons quoted at Chalcedon as the ninety-fifth and ninety-sixth were the same as the sixteenth and seventeenth Canons of the council of Antioch, and by adding the number of Canons framed at Nice with the number of those of the five provincial Synods, the numbers were found to agree. The letters of Ussher and Ward on this subject are well deserving of attention, and we must feel surprised at the forbearance of these learned men, in not making public their laborious investigations on this intricate subject. It is probable that Ussher reserved this, along with his history of the Decretal Epistles, for the Bibliotheca Theologica, which he had already commenced. He notices the common mistake of attributing the collection to Isidorus, and adds, "as in

[1] See vol. xv. pag. 37.

my Bibliotheca Theologica, God willing, I shall fully declare."

About the same time the attention of Ussher was turned to a very different subject, by the constant disputes and litigations to which it had given rise, and he composed a work on the original and first institution of Corbes, Herenaches, and Termon lands. This treatise was not published[m] but sent over to Archbishop Bancroft, and presented by him to King James. The substance of it was printed by Sir Henry Spelman in his Glossary, and due acknowledgments made to the author, whom he designates as "Literarum insignis Pharus." In this learned treatise Ussher maintains that the Termon lands were those set apart for the endowments of churches, as by the Canons of various Councils it was ordered that a bishop should not consecrate a church until an instrument of such donation were presented to him. The name he derives from the Irish Teaṗmaiṁ, signifying a sanctuary, and brings forward as an example Termonfechin, the sanctuary of Fechin, with little expectation, no doubt, that ere long those lands would form his residence as Archbishop of Armagh. Of these Termon lands the bishops were the chief lords. The Herenachs he supposes to have been archdeacons, not the archdeacons who exercise jurisdiction under the bishop, but those who, according to primitive practice, were of a rank inferior to presbyters. The Corbes were of a still higher rank, and were the rural deans, archpresbyters, or chorepiscopi, from which latter name, by a barbarous contraction, the word was derived, *comorbanus*, *corbanus*, *corba*[n]. Both Corbes and Herenachs were anciently married men, until celibacy was enforced upon the clergy, and we find their sons succeeding to their offices. The Herenachs held these lands

[m] It was first published by General Vallancey in the "Collectanea de Rebus Hibernicis," from the MS. in the handwriting of Ussher preserved in the library of Trinity College, and dated 1609. It will be found in vol. xi. of the Archbishop's works, p. 419.

[n] Colgan derives it from *comorban*, a successor, as frequent mention is made in the Annals of Ireland, of the comorbans of St. Patrick, Albe, Jarlath, Columb, Fechin, and others.—Trias. Thaum. p. 293.

from the bishop, dean, and chapter, and had renewals upon the first entry of every new Herenach, and upon the consecration of every new bishop; the Herenach was bound to reside upon and manure the land, out of the profits to pay rent to the bishop, to keep hospitality, and to repair part of the fabric of the church. A certain portion of free land remained to the Herenach, which was termed *ad honorem villæ*, and was not chargeable with any rent. The first mention of a Corbe is in the Annals of Ulster, at the year 858, or 859 according to the ordinary computation. There it is recorded, "that O'Carroll, King of Ossorye, assisted with other kings, brought his army into the field against the King of Taraughe: but Imfeathgna, Patrick's Corbe, and Imsuairlech Finno his Corbe[o], interposing themselves, O'Carroll was persuaded to yield to St. Patrick and his Corbe." Ussher has brought forward various passages from ancient records, more particularly those of Armagh, in support of his theory: however, he concludes his tract with great modesty: "So would I have none to imagine, that I take upon me peremptorily to determine any thing in this matter of antiquity, as being not ignorant with what obscurities questions of that nature are involved, especially where help of ancient monuments is wanting."

In 1609, Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Ussher went to London for the purpose of purchasing books for the library of Trinity College[p]. During this visit he increased the number of his acquaintance among the learned men then in England, Sir John Bourchier, afterwards Earl of Bath, Dr. Davenant, afterwards Bishop of Salisbury, Sir Henry Savile, Mr. Selden, Mr. Briggs, Professor of Astronomy at Oxford, and many others[q], with whom he kept up a correspondence

[o] I am indebted to my friend, Dr. Todd, for a correction of the Archbishop's quotation from the Annals of Ulster. He mistook the preposition im for part of the name. It should be Feathghna Corbe of Patrick, and Suairlech Corbe of Finnian.

[p] In the College accounts for the September quarter of that year is the following entry: "Laid out by Dr. Chaloner and Mr. Ussher, in London, for books, globes, &c., £107 6s."

[q] Dr. Parr mentions Camden, Cotton, and Ward; but it appears that Ussher had been in correspondence with these individuals some years before.

during the remainder of his life. His name was now so well known in London, that some notice was taken of him at Court, and he preached before the household. Dr. Smith says: "Neque enim coram Regia Majestate, conscensis sacris rostris, comparuit, sive defuit opportunitas sive potius a propria modestate inhibitus retractusque." On his return to Ireland he induced the learned Thomas Lydiat[r] to accompany him, and he procured for him chambers in the College, and an appointment of Reader, with a salary of £3 6*s.* 8*d.* per quarter. The first entry in the account book is to Mr. Lydiat, partly for reading, partly by way of benevolence, £5, December 23, 1609. It is not accurately known how long he remained in Ireland. He certainly had returned to London in August, 1611, for in the collection of letters there is one from him to Ussher dated August 22, 1611.

[r] Thomas Lydiat is one of the instances selected by Dr. Johnson to prove the vanity of literary expectations:

Hear Lydiat's life and Galileo's end.

He was the son of Christopher Lydiat, lord of the manor of Aulkryngton, or, as it is commonly called, Okerton [he calls it Alerton, in a letter to Ussher: see Works, vol. xv. p. 39], near Banbury in Oxfordshire, and citizen of London. He was elected on the foundation of Winchester College, and thence proceeded to New College, Oxford, of which he was elected a Fellow in 1591. His desire to undertake the duties of a clergyman was impeded by a defective memory and an imperfection of utterance, as he states himself in the dedication of a sermon to Bishop Bancroft of Oxford, and resigning his fellowship, he entered on his small patrimonial property at Okerton. His first work was published in 1605, "Tractatus de variis Annis." Of this he published a defence in 1607, against the arrogant censures of Scaliger, who used the most scurrilous and indecent language in speaking of him; and he again attacked the proud dictator of literature in his "Emendatio Temporum ab Initio Mundi hucusque compendio facta contra Scaligerum et alios." This was dedicated to Henry Prince of Wales, who made the author his chronographer and cosmographer. Wood says, that all his hopes of advancement were blighted by the death of the Prince, and that then he accepted Ussher's offer, and went with him to Ireland. This is a mistake, for Lydiat went to Ireland in 1609, and returned to England before the death of the Prince. The ultimate provision intended for him in Ireland seems to have been the school of Armagh, then worth fifty pounds per annum. On returning to England, he found the living of Okerton, which he had before declined, again vacant, and, with some re-

About the time[a] that Lydiat left the College, the provostship became vacant by the resignation of Alvey, and was offered by the Fellows to Ussher, but he declined

luctance, he accepted it. He is reported to have composed there 600 sermons, on the Harmony of the Gospels. Having become security for a friend he was unable to pay the debt, his patrimony having been expended in the publication of books, and he was thrown into the Bocardo prison at Oxford. From this he was liberated by the generosity of Sir William Boswell, Archbishops Laud and Ussher, and some other friends. Selden refused to contribute, in resentment for a supposed slight offered him by Lydiat, who called him, in the Marmora Arundeliana, simply an *industrious* writer. These misfortunes do not appear to have damped his zeal for the advancement of learning, for no sooner had he been released from prison, than he presented a petition to Charles I. for his patronage in an intended voyage to the East to collect manuscripts. The Civil War put a stop to any hopes of success from such a petition, and his loyalty exposed him to new troubles. He states, in a letter to Sir William Compton, governor of Banbury Castle, that "he had been twice pillaged by the Parliament forces of Compton House to the value of at least £70, and was forced, for a quarter of a year, to borrow a shirt to shift himself; also that he had been twice carried away from his home, and barbarously treated by the soldiers. The cause of which ill usage was, that he had denied them money, and defended his books and papers, and, while a prisoner in Warwick Castle, had spoken much for the King and bishops." He at length rested from his labours on the third of April, 1646, in the 75th year of his age. After the Restoration, the Warden and Fellows of New College placed a stone with an inscription over his grave in Okerton churchyard, and erected a monument to his memory in their cloister.

In the Biographia Britannica, it is stated that, soon after his return, he entered into the married state with a sister of Ussher, for which fact the authority given is the alleged subscription of "your loving brother-in-law" to some letters. The letters, however, are only signed, "your loving friend and brother," which latter appellation Ussher bestows upon others of his correspondents among the clergy. Mr. Briggs, indeed, says, "I pray you salute from me your brother, Mr. Lydiat;" but this was in a letter dated August, 1610, so that Lydiat must have been married before he had been a year in Ireland, if that be considered authority. I cannot find any proof that Lydiat was married to a sister of Ussher, or indeed that he was married at all. The recorded incidents of his life seem to prove he never was.

[a] Dr. Parr, and he is, of course, blindly followed by all the other biographers, says, that Ussher was offered the provostship in 1610, when in his thirtieth year. But the offer must have been made in 1609, for on the 14th of November, 1609, the election of Temple was confirmed by the Fellows, Masters of Arts, and Lecturers, and he entered upon his office the 23rd of December, 1609.

the honour. It cannot be very clearly ascertained what was his reason for refusing such a situation: Dr. Parr states, that it arose "from his fear of its proving a hindrance to his studies;" perhaps, also, he thought its duties would interfere with his visits to England, which would be necessary for the completion of the studies in which he was engaged; and perhaps he shrunk from encountering the difficulties in which the unsettled state of the College must involve its new Provost, difficulties which could only be overcome by greater promptness and decision, than ever appeared in his character. Dr. Smith says that Ussher recommended and procured the election of William Temple. It is to be hoped he did not, for Temple does not seem to have been at all fitted for his situation. Temple was the third appointment made by the English government, of persons whom they were anxious to get rid of, and unwilling to promote in England. Temple had been secretary to the unfortunate Earl of Essex at the time of his death, and fled into Ireland to escape the enmity of Cecil: there he remained in retirement till he was appointed Provost: though the appointment was nominally in the Fellows, yet in no case was it ever made without the direction of the government. Temple had strong puritanical tendencies, and resisted the orders[1] of Archbishop Abbot to wear a sur-

[1] The letter of Archbishop Abbot, the Chancellor of the University, to Archbishop Jones, Lord Chancellor of Ireland, gives a curious account of Irish uniformity at that time, and I therefore give an extract from it.

Feb. 25, 1613.

"—— His Majesty hath been informed by some or other lately come out of Ireland, of an abuse which his Highness doth exceedingly take at heart, and that is, that at the cathedral churches in Dublin as also at the College, the Prebendaries and dignitaries of the one, and the Provost and fellows of the other do refuse to come into the quire or into the chapel on Sundays and Holydays in their surplices and hoods fit for their degrees. I cannot express to your Lordship how exceedingly his Majesty is offended thereat, and therefore hath been pleased to command me to write a peremptory direction with all speed and with all the authority which his Highness can give me, that you call before you the dignitaries and prebendaries of the cathedral churches who offend in this kind, as also the Provost and such of the fellows as transgress, and that you let them know that it is his Majesty's express commandment, that they con-

plice in the College chapel on Sundays and Holydays. He wrote a long and elaborate answer to prove how unreasonable it was to call upon a layman to wear a surplice; and he states the curious fact, that Sir John Cheke, Provost of King's College, Cambridge, Sir Thomas Smith, and Sir Henry Savile, Provosts of Eton, were excused from wearing surplices. Though the conscience of Temple was so tender on the subject of wearing a surplice, it did not prevent him from making improper leases of the College lands for his own emolument, or violating the Statutes for the purpose of getting two sons appointed Fellows: the disputes between him and the Fellows and his mismanagement became so notorious, that we shall find Ussher joining in a plan to procure his resignation of the Provostship.

In 1612 Ussher took the degree of D. D. at a grand Commencement[u] held in the Cathedral of St. Patrick, because there was no room sufficiently large in Trinity College. The subjects of the two Latin treatises, which he delivered as part of the exercises for the degree, were, The seventy Weeks of Daniel, and, The Reign of the Saints with Christ for a thousand years, Rev. xx. 4, "explaining," says Dr. Parr, "these texts so misapplied by the millenaries both in elder and latter times." At this Commencement Dr. Dun was Vice-Chancellor, and Dr. Hampton, Archbishop of Armagh, acted as Moderator of the Divinity disputations.

form themselves to the laws and decent orders of the realm, or that they leave their places to such as will observe them. For his Majesty sayeth, that it is no reason to suffer those places which should be seminaries of obedience, to be the ground plotte of disorder and disobedience; neither is there any reason to be severe against the Papists, if his Highness should be remiss against the Puritans. I do therefore in his Majesty's name require your Lordship to be resolute and peremptory in this business and withall to send unto me the names of such as shew themselves refractory in this kind; that forthwith there may be order taken for the removing of them, since it is an intolerable wrong unto our Church, that they who live by it should distract themselves from the obedience thereof, and so either be separatists, or else be a distinct Church in a Church, to the great scandal and offence of such real papists as may be coming towards us, if they might be assured upon what settled grounds to find us."

It would have been well for the Church if Archbishop Abbot had followed his own directions.

[u] For a detailed account of this Commencement see Appendix No. *II.*

In 1613 Dr. Ussher went to London for the purpose of publishing his first work, the title of which was, "Gravissimæ Quæstionis de Christianarum Ecclesiarum in Occidentis præsertim partibus ab Apostolicis temporibus ad nostram usque ætatem, continua successione et statu, Historica Explicatio." The work was dedicated to James I., and gratified greatly that monarch, who considered himself pre-eminently qualified to understand its apocalyptic discussions. The great object of this work was to answer the question of the Romanists, where was the religion of the Protestants before Luther? and to prove that Christ had always a Visible Church of true Christians, who had not been tainted with the errors and corruptions of the Church of Rome. Ussher himself states in his preface, that his work may be considered as a continuation of Bishop Jewell's Apology for the Church of England, in which he had proved that her doctrines were the same as those professed by the Church in the first six centuries. The design of Ussher was to bring down the argument to the Reformation. The first part extended to the accession of Gregory VII. in the eleventh century. The second part was to have extended to the year 1370, and the third part to the year 1513. The third part never was published, nor the last hundred years of the second part. Ussher, in a letter to Lydiat, says: "you have rightly observed that in my discourse, De Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione et statu, there is wanting for the accomplishment of the second part an hundred years' story: which defect in the continuation of the work is by me supplied. I purpose to publish the whole work much augmented: but I do first expect the publication of my uncle Stanihurst's answer to the former, which I hear since his death is sent to Paris to be there printed. I am advertised also that even now there is come out at Antwerp a treatise of my countryman Christopher de Sacro Bosco, De veræ Ecclesiæ investigatione, wherein he hath some dealing with me. Both these I would willingly see, before I set out my book anew: that if they have justly found fault with any thing, I may amend it; if unjustly, I may defend it." Stanihurst had published at

Douay a letter to his nephew with this title, " Richardi Stanihursti Hiberni Dubliniensis brevis præmonitio pro futura concertatione cum Jacobo Usserio Hiberno Dubliniensi: Qui in sua historica explicatione conatur probare Romanum pontificem (legitimum in terris Christi Vicarium) verum et germanum esse Antichristum." There is very little argument in the book. He calls his nephew " Historiarum helluonem," and admits him " plurimorum scriptorum ætates et tempora haudquaquam sane indiligenter fuisse persecutum." The letter consists of thirty-eight pages, and one-half only is devoted to a refutation of the argument, if indeed any part can be so called, for the principal subject is an invective upon the character and writings of Luther. The last half of the letter is employed in enumerating some of the cruelties said to be inflicted on Irishmen for their profession of the Roman Catholic religion, principally detailing the death of the two Romish bishops[y], Richard Creaghe titular Archbishop of Armagh, and Dermot Hurley of Cashel.

He avails himself of an unfortunate expression in the dedication to King James, as an excuse for leaving his subject and wandering into abusive declamation. Ussher says in the dedication, " Unum adhuc superest, quod votis omnibus a Majestate tua expetunt omnes boni, ut populo nostro pereunti propere succurrere et peste Pontificia misere laboranti facere velis medicinam." This Stanihurst interprets as an exhortation to the King to have recourse to the infliction of punishment, in order to crush the Roman Ca-

[y] The death of these two *martyrs* put forward by Stanihurst, and embellished by the author of the Analecta, has formed a fruitful source of declamation for Roman Catholic writers from that period to the time of Dr. Milner. That Bishop Hurley was guilty of treason, and was hanged for that crime, and not for his religion, can admit of no doubt. That he was tortured previous to his execution, in direct violation of the law, must require stronger evidence than the testimony of two witnesses who contradict each other, as to the mode in which the torture was inflicted, in such a manner as would invalidate their testimony in any court of justice. The account of the poisoning Bishop Creaghe, and of the mode of its discovery, was too ridiculous for Stanihurst to insert, and it seems extraordinary that any writer could venture to publish such a monstrous absurdity. I must refer the curious reader to the Analecta, as it would be impossible to give the detail here.

tholic religion in Ireland. He says, " Quod si regia Majestas te consiliario, in hac ancipiti deliberatione, uteretur, quid quæso remedii post maturam disquisitionem proponendum suaderes? Anne bonorum direptionibus Catholicos castigandos? At hoc esset actum agere. Nec enim obscurum est non paucos melioris notæ Hibernos, priusquam Rex Jacobus ad patriæ nostræ gubernacula sederet, gravem rei familiaris jacturam fecisse, quod vestris orgiis interesse, atque in mulierarium (quem obstupescent posteri) in rebus ecclesiasticis principatum jurare renuerint. Forte in carceres condi censebis. Atque istis miseriis callum jamdudum obduxerunt. Si gravioras exigas, quam quæ ante actis annis latæ fuerunt, eo sententiæ tuæ summa collineare videtur, ut Catholicos Hibernos, quos Calvinianus magistratus jam olim cecidit flagellis, noster Rex Jacobus cedat te suasore, scorpionibus." This idle declamation was not the mode of answering the arguments of his nephew, whom he addresses as " Jacobe nepos."

The work of Ussher is a prodigious mass of quotations from different writers, the author professing that he never used his own words, when he could find those of another. He makes the binding of Satan in the Apocalypse commence with the rise of the Gospel, which may be dated either from the incarnation or passion of Christ, or from the termination of the Jewish polity by the destruction of Jerusalem. The coming of Antichrist he places at the end of the first six centuries, and the loosing of Satan at the end of ten centuries. The 1000 years from the incarnation go down to the pontificate of Sylvester II., from the passion to that of Benedict IX., and from the destruction of Jerusalem to that of Gregory VII., the celebrated Hildebrand. He next proceeds to describe the state of the Church under the tyranny of Antichrist, more particularly in the reign of Innocent III., and concludes the work with a defence of the Albigenses and Waldenses, and an account of the various misstatements made by the different Roman Catholic writers confounding them with heretics of the worst description. Dr. Smith states that the publisher of the edition of 1678 was guilty of fraud in putting on the title-page

"Operis integri ab autore aucti et recogniti," as no additions had been made to the first edition. Now in this statement Dr. Smith is undoubtedly mistaken. No person could look at the edition of 1678 without perceiving that very considerable additions had been made to the original work. I cannot discover how the editor got those additions; it must have been from some copy of the old edition prepared for publication by the author himself. In the library of Trinity College is an imperfect interleaved copy of the first edition of the work, with several additions written in Ussher's handwriting; these are all accurately printed in the edition of 1678, but with considerable additions, which I have inserted in the edition of the Archbishop's works, as their agreement with those, of whose authenticity there could be no doubt, was strong evidence in their favor, and on verifying the quotations I found them correct.

While Ussher remained in London he appears to have had frequent conferences with Archbishop Abbot, in which a principal subject of discussion was the plan for giving a new charter and statutes to Trinity College, Dublin. By the first charter the Provost and Fellows had the power of making statutes for themselves. In a letter written to Dr. Chaloner, which most probably never reached him, as it is dated only a few days before his death, Ussher states to him the various objections of the Archbishop, and among them two, which could not be expected from such a quarter: "He[w] observed that there was no order taken that the Scholars should come into the chappel clericaliter vestiti, and took great exception against the statute for the ordering of commonplacing which he affirmed to be flat puritanical." The Archbishop also complained of what has been ever the great injury to Trinity College, the small number of Fellows, "counting it a great inconvenience that the Fellows resident should be so taken up with lectures that they can have no time for themselves to grow up in further learning." Up to the present day there has never been a greater number of Fellows than of tutors, and to

[w] See Works, vol. xv. p. 72. This, no doubt, produced the letter to the Chancellor of Ireland, from which an extract was given, pag. 32, note.

any one acquainted with the embarrassing routine of lectures during every term, it is only wonderful that there ever has been found a Fellow, who was able to distinguish himself in the paths of science or of literature. The proceedings as to any change in the College were suspended by a refusal on the part of the Provost and Fellows to surrender their charter, a refusal the wisdom of which appeared very clearly from the earnestness with which the measure was pressed upon them.

While Ussher was absent in London, his uncle Henry Archbishop of Armagh died on the 2nd of April, and on the 27th of the same month died also Dr. Chaloner. It is probable that these events hastened the return of Ussher, for we find him soon after in Dublin. Dr. Chaloner left but one daughter, to whom he bequeathed a very considerable fortune, enjoining her not to marry any person but Dr. Ussher, if he should propose himself. Dr. Ussher did offer himself, and he and Phœbe Chaloner were married about the beginning of the year 1614. A relationship had existed between them, for Dr. Chaloner married Rose the daughter of Elinor Ussher, the wife of Walter Ball, Mayor of Dublin. Dr. Ussher had but one child, a daughter, Elizabeth, who was married to Sir Timothy Tyrrell of Shotover House[x] near Oxford, to whom Dr. Barlow dedicated his edition of the Chronology, and whose son James Tyrrell dedicated the work on the Prince to Charles II., and was himself a learned and industrious writer.

In the year 1615 a Convocation of the Irish clergy, formed after the model of the English convocation, assembled in Dublin. This seems to have been the first convocation ever held in Ireland. Dr. Parr and Dr. Smith indeed assert the contrary; Dr. Parr says, "There was now a

[x] Shotover House is not now in the possession of the family of Tyrrell: the last of the family who possessed it was the great-grandson of Dr. Ussher, Lieutenant-General James Tyrrell, who died in 1742, and left his estate from the Tyrrell family to his kinsman Augustus Schutz, Esq. In the Library was preserved the volume of letters from which Dr. Parr cut out those he published. The volume, with a few remaining letters, has been presented to the Library of Trinity College by the present possessor, George V. Drury, Esq. Some of these will be found in the sixteenth volume of the Archbishop's works.

Parliament at Dublin and so a Convocation of the Clergy:" and Dr. Smith, "ordinibus regni Hiberniæ in Parliamento Dublinii A. MDCXV. habito coactis, pro more indicta erat nationalis Archiepiscoporum episcoporum reliquique cleri Hiberniæ synodus:" but various circumstances throw a doubt upon their evidence. The first cause of doubt is to be found in the Convocation itself. The Parliament and Convocation certainly did not meet at the same time, as stated by Dr. Parr. The Parliament met on the 18th of May, 1613, and the Convocation did not assemble till the end of 1614, and most probably not till 1615. Then the proceedings of the Convocation argue novelty and imperfection: the clergy do not appear to have granted any subsidies, or even to have claimed the right of taxing themselves. There is no Act of the Irish Parliament to confirm the grant of a subsidy by the clergy, yet there is in existence the transmiss of an act for confirming the subsidies granted by Convocation. The existence of the transmiss proves the wish of the English Government to have all things done regularly after the model of the Convocation in England, and its not being made use of establishes the fact that the Irish Convocation did not understand the proper mode of proceeding. The only business that is recorded to have been transacted, the formation of the Articles, was not concluded in proper form. They were not signed as in England by all the members, but by Archbishop Jones, Speaker[y] of the House of Bishops in Convocation, and the Prolocutor of the House of the Clergy in their names. But while the imperfections of the Convocation of 1615 only afford an indirect argument for its nonexistence at an earlier period, we can obtain more complete proof by examining the proceedings of former reigns. In the reign of Henry VIII. we cannot find any reference of ecclesiastical matters to

[y] This fact Dr. Ryves adduces as proof that Archbishop Hampton had relinquished his claim to precedence of the Archbishop of Dublin, Reg. Angl. Def. part. 3. pag. 44. but he is mistaken. Archbishop Jones took precedence as Lord Chancellor, and does not appear ever to have disputed the precedence of the Archbishop of Armagh. Primate Hampton afterwards resisted Archbishop Bulkeley when claiming it. See pag. 160. The Chancellor took precedence of the Primate till the year 1634.

the Convocation, nor can we find any claims of exemption on the part of the clergy. They were taxed in common with his Majesty's other subjects. In the same reign there is a passage in an Act of Parliament which seems to prove that no Convocation existed in Ireland. The preamble of the 28 Henry VIII. cap. 12, states: "At every Parliament begun and holden within this land, two Proctors of every diocese within the same land have been used and accustomed to be summoned and warned to be at the same Parliament, which were never by order of law, usage, custom, or otherwise, any member or parcel of the whole body of the Parliament, nor have had any right, any voice or suffrage in the same, but only be there as counsellors and assistants to the same; and upon such things of learning, as should happen in controversy, to declare their opinions much like as the Convocation within the realm of England is commonly at every Parliament begun and holden by the King's Highness special license." Now this reference to the Convocation of England appears to be decisive proof that there was no such body existing in Ireland at that time; for if there had, the comparison would undoubtedly have been made with their own Convocation. The Act was caused by an attempt of the Proctors to be members of Parliament, an attempt which it attributes "to their ambitious minds and presumption, inordinately desiring to have authority and to intermeddle with every cause or matter without any just ground." This attempt seems very similar to the demand made by the English Convocation of 1547, yet there is no appearance of any such body as that which acted in England; nor is there any reference made in the Act to the *Præmunientes* clause, it simply speaks of two Proctors out of every diocese.

In the year 1551 Edward VI. sent an order that the Liturgy of the Church of England should be read in Ireland. Upon this order Sir Anthony St. Leger is not reported to have summoned a Convocation, but says Cox, "Before he issued a proclamation for the observance of it, he called an assembly of the Archbishops and Bishops with others of the then clergy of Ireland to propose the matter to them."

In the second year of Elizabeth a Parliament was assembled and no mention is made of a Convocation, though Acts with respect to the Church were passed. And in the third year of Elizabeth there was not any Parliament, yet she signifies her pleasure to Lord Sussex the Lord Lieutenant for a general meeting of the clergy and the establishment of the Protestant religion. This of course was an order to summon not a Convocation, but the ancient Synod of the clergy, which had the power of settling all matters concerning religion. It would appear then that the dissimilarity of the proceedings in England and Ireland with respect to the Reformation arose from the different constitutions of the two Churches. In England the Convocation, originally instituted for the purpose of managing the temporal concerns of the clergy, had gradually usurped the powers of the Provincial Synod and become the instrument of framing Articles and Canons for the Church. In Ireland the Provincial Synod had not been superseded, and by their consent given at three different times, in the reign of Edward when summoned by Sir Anthony St. Leger, in the third of Elizabeth called together by Lord Sussex, and in the year 1665 by Sir Henry Sydney, the Clergy received the use of the English Liturgy and expressed their conformity to the doctrines of the English Church. There is indeed a passage in the manuscript collections of Dudley Loftus which has been adduced as proof of a Convocation having been held in 1560: "This yeare was held a Convocation of Bishops at the Queen's command for establishing the Protestant religion." But he must have used the word Convocation merely to express a meeting of the Bishops, and would have adopted a very different phraseology had he intended to describe the assembling of the Convocation.

Ware in his Annals of Ireland takes for granted that the clergy met according to the orders given to the Lord Deputy, and does not think it necessary to mention the fact. But he prefaces the account of the consecration of Alexander Craike to the bishopric of Kildare by saying, "soon after the assembly of the Irish clergy had dispersed themselves." The reformation then in Ireland was carried on by the regular assembly to which the affairs of the Church

ought canonically to be intrusted, and the English Liturgy was accepted by a Synod of the clergy held in 1560.

In the year 1566 a book of Articles was put forth by the authority of the Lord Deputy, the Archbishops and Bishops, and other her Majesty's High Commissioners[a] for Causes Ecclesiastical in the same realm[b], which were to be publicly read by the clergy "at their possession-taking, and twice every year afterwards." It would appear that the English Articles were not in force at this time in Ireland, because this book of Articles is copied from a similar production issued in England[c] before the publication of the Thirty-nine Articles, and designed, no doubt, to supply the want of an authorized formulary. Its publication in Ireland would therefore seem to warrant the supposition of a similar want there. It has indeed been argued from Ussher's sermon before the House of Commons that subscription[d] to the English

[a] These Commissioners were appointed by Elizabeth in the year 1563, and are not taken notice of in any history of Ireland with which I am acquainted. Leland indeed, and he is followed by Bishop Mant, states that a High Commission Court was established in Dublin in 1593. Possibly this is an error of the press, and that he wrote 1563, alluding to these Commissioners. The commission is dated the sixth of October in the sixth year of her reign, and is addressed to Adam Archbishop of Armagh, Hugh Archbishop of Dublin, Thomas Earl of Ormonde, Gerald Earl of Desmond, Gerald Earl of Kildare, Hugh Bishop of Meath, Robert Bishop of Kildare, Thomas Bishop of Leighlin, Sir Henry Radcliffe, Knight; Sir William Fitzwilliam, Knight; Sir Robert Cusack, Knight; John Plunkett, Robert Dillon, James Bathe, Francis Agarde, Robert Cusacke, the Maiours of * * * * * for the time being, Terence the Dean of Armagh, John Garvy and Henry Draycott. The Commission is very long, and extends over a large range of business including heresy and other subjects of spiritual jurisdiction.

[b] Of this publication the contemporary historians give no account, and it was utterly unknown till my learned friend Archdeacon Cotton discovered a copy of it in a collection of pamphlets in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. As it is believed there is not another copy in existence, I have given the Articles in the Appendix printed exactly from the original edition. See App. III. pag. 21.

[c] Wilkin states that these Articles were put forth before the consecration of Archbishop Parker, but Burnet places their publication after the consecration, while the Bishops were waiting for a Convocation, in which a new body of Articles were to be composed. The title of the Articles supports Burnet's opinion, for it states "set out by order of both Archbishops Metropolitans and the rest of the Bishops."

[d] A circumstance mentioned incidentally by Wood would seem to prove

Articles was required in Ireland. Ussher certainly says, "we all agree that the Scriptures of God are the perfect rule of our faith, we all consent in the main grounds of religion drawn from thence: we all subscribe to the articles of doctrine agreed upon in the Synod of the year 1562 for the avoiding of diversities of opinions and the establishing of consent concerning true religion:" but it does not appear to me that these words are decisive, he might have used them in a general sense as merely expressive of assent, and indeed must have done so, for many of the persons he addressed had never subscribed the Articles. But whether the Thirty-nine Articles of the English Church were in force or not, every dictate of prudence would have suggested the propriety of assimilating the two Churches, and we must seek for the cause of forming a new code in the circumstances to which I have before alluded. The spirit which had endeavoured but unsuccessfully to force the Lambeth Articles on the English Church, had acquired fresh strength in Ireland from the unjustifiable conduct of the Government in their selection of persons for the high offices of the Church, and was now enabled to carry through the Convocation, and obtain the assent of the Lord Deputy for a system more exclusive and more dogmatical than that which had been attempted by Whittaker and his associates. On the meeting of the Convocation Randolph Barlow[e], B.D., Chaplain to the Lord Deputy Chichester, was elected Prolocutor of the Lower House. Jones Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland presided in the Upper House. It is said that Dr. Ussher was appointed to draw up the Articles, but whether or not such a formal appointment

subscription was not required. He says, "John Ball (about the year 1608) made shift to be ordained a minister in London, without subscription, by an Irish bishop."—*Wood, Athen. Oxon.* vol. ii. p. 671.

Barlow was in 1629 consecrated Archbishop of Tuam. It appears that he was indebted for his promotion to the recommendations of the Lord Deputy Falkland and of Ussher then Archbishop of Armagh. On account of the poverty of the See from the lands and other possessions being withheld, he was permitted to hold *in commendam* the deanery of Christ Church and the Archdeaconry of Meath. Archbishop Barlow died at Tuam on the 16th of February, 1638, in the 66th year of his age.

were made, he must have had the principal share in their formation from his high character and from the situation he held as Professor of Divinity in the University. There is not any thing contained in the Articles, which is not in strict conformity with the opinions he entertained at that period of his life. The Articles were 104 in number, drawn up under nineteen heads[f]; of these some are of a character unsuited to articles of faith, and approach that of a homily, such are the tenth and twelfth, of the service of God, and of our duty towards our neighbour. Others with rigid precision determine questions which had hitherto never been introduced into articles of faith: thus there is a particular explanation of what in Scripture is only revealed in general terms concerning the generation of the Son, which in conformity with the notions of Calvin the Article pronounces to be from the person, not the essence of the Father. Thus the Pope is pronounced to be Antichrist. Thus also decisions are given about the primeval state, and the fall of the angels, and the state of the souls of men after death[g]. But

[f] Bishop Mant in his History of the Church of Ireland remarks, that in a notice prefixed it was stated that they comprehended the Nine Articles agreed on at Lambeth, but that they omitted to state that these Articles were suppressed by Queen Elizabeth. I must beg to say that the Bishop has been deceived by referring either to an edition of the Articles published in London in 1629 or to the copy of them printed at the end of Neal's History of the Puritans. In those editions there is the notice mentioned by the Bishop, and also the index in the margin pointing out the particular words in the Lambeth Articles, but in the original edition published in Dublin in 1615 there is no allusion whatever to the Lambeth Articles, no notice prefixed, no index in the margin. In order to obviate any mistakes of the kind I have printed in the Appendix the Articles taken verbatim from the original edition, a copy of which is in the library of Trinity College.—See App. IV. p. xxxi.

[g] Dr. Heylin objects to the Articles that they support the Sabbatarian doctrine of a Judaical rest on the Lord's day, but this objection cannot be maintained. The passage in the Article is as follows: "The first day of the week, which is the Lord's day, is wholly to be dedicated to the service of God, and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily business, and to bestow that leisure upon holy exercises both public and private." It may be doubted whether this passage ought to form part of an article of faith, but the doctrine put forward is unexceptionable. Heylin also states that the Irish Articles contain Calvin's doctrine of Christ's descent into Hell. There does not appear any such

the most important ground of objection to the Irish Articles is the introduction of the Lambeth Articles, which had been so recently rejected by the Church of England. By this unfortunate proceeding a serious impediment was interposed to prevent any agreement between the Churches of England and Ireland. It is impossible but Ussher and those who acted with him must have been aware of this evil, and great must they have thought the necessity of introducing the Lambeth Articles, when they chose such an alternative: they must have considered that the English Articles expressed imperfectly, if at all, their views of Christian doctrine. It has indeed been confidently put forward by the advocates of Calvinistic opinions in the English Church, that the Thirty-nine Articles are exclusively Calvinistic, and that they cannot admit an interpretation at variance with those particular views. In vain has the history of the introduction of the Articles claimed as exclusively favorable, in vain have the known opinions of the framers been brought forward[h] to oppose such an assertion, yet still arguments and facts are alike disregarded, and still the assertion is confidently repeated. Another line of argument is suggested by the conduct of the predestinarian party. They never had, nor ever thought they had, the

agreement. Calvin says, "Nihil actum erat si corporea tantum morte defunctus fuisset Christus, sed operæ simul pretium erat, ut divinæ ultionis severitatem sentire: quo et iræ ipsius intercederet, et satisfaceret justo judicio. Unde etiam eum oportuit cum inferorum copiis æternæque mortis honore, quasi consertis manibus luctari."—*Inst.* lib. 2, cap. 16. Calvin asserted that the pains Christ endured in his soul *before* his death were so great, that in them he suffered the pains of the damned; in this way making the grievous tortures of his soul equivalent or the same as the descent into Hell, thus displacing the words of the Creed, and making that which the Creed supposes to have taken place after his death, to precede that event. An objection which he treated with contempt: "Nimis frivola adeoque ridicula est eorum exceptio, qui dicunt hoc modo perverti ordinem: quia absurdum est sepulturæ subjici quod præcedit." Now the Irish Articles strictly adhere to the order, "He endured most grievous torments immediately in his soul and most painful sufferings in his body. He was buried and descended into Hell and the third day arose from the dead."

[h] See more particularly the late Archbishop Laurence's Bampton Lectures, a model of theological reasoning.

power of making a change in the Articles without exerting it, of which the Lambeth Articles, the alterations proposed by the Assembly of Divines and the Irish Articles are decisive proofs. Their opponents never proposed any such measure; satisfied with the guarded forms of expression in these Articles, they shrunk from incurring the danger of unsettling the established profession of faith. And it cannot be said they had not the power—to omit other periods, at the Convocation of 1661 they would not have had any difficulty in raising a hostile cry against them, and excluding every thing which could favor the opinions of their bitterest enemies, who had trampled under foot the Church of their Fathers, and had persecuted the individual members of it with the most relentless severity.

Dr. Parr has endeavoured to defend Dr. Ussher from the charge of having proposed any thing different from the Articles of the Church of England, on the ground that in such a case James would not have given his Deputy authority to sign them. But an argument founded upon James' consistency[i] cannot be considered as deserving of much attention. The facts are still open, and it is as easy to form an opinion upon the subject now, as when the Lord Deputy gave his approbation. Dr. Heylin may have gone too far in saying what has given so much offence, "that the passing the Irish Articles was an absolute plot of the Calvinians and Sabbatarians in England to make themselves so strong a party in Ireland as to obtain what they pleased in this Convocation:" but certainly they were framed with a strong desire to conciliate the Non-conformists[j] and an utter

[i] Mosheim says very truly of this extraordinary character: "Puritanæ et disciplinæ et doctrinæ, quam juvenis totam imbiberat, capitalis hostis; Arminianorum, quorum condemnationem valde promoverat, fautor et patronus certissimus; episcopalis denique gubernationis vindex acerrimus."—*Instit. Hist. Eccles.* p. 856.

[j] Dr. Reid in his History of the Presbyterians has asserted this strongly, but he has carried his proofs far beyond what he is justified in doing. He asserts that the validity of ordination by presbyters is clearly implied. I cannot find any words which can be so interpreted. Again he says, the doctrine of absolution is condemned and the forgiveness of sins taught to be only declaratory. Though this has also been stated by Dr. Heylin

disregard of the proceedings in England, which must have been fresh in the recollection of the compilers. The effect of them upon Ireland was most injurious to the progress of true religion. "Several[k] of them gave great offence to the Roman Catholics and hindered their conversion; and others of them gave as much encouragement to the Puritans brought out of Scotland into Ulster; and both made their advantage of them to the prejudice of the Church of Ireland."

It is a matter of no small difficulty to account for the consent of James to these Articles. The Article on the observance of the Lord's day must at that time have been considered at direct variance with the Book of Sports, and this opposition might justly be considered as sufficient to rouse his notions of prerogative into open hostility against such doctrines. Wood probably gives a solution for many of the anomalies connected with these Articles: he says that Dr. James Montague, Dean of the Royal Chapel and succes-

I cannot find authority for it. The condemnation seems to be confined to the Popish doctrine of absolution, and the words of the prayer in the Morning and Evening Service are copied exactly. Again he says, Lent is disclaimed as a religious fast, I cannot find the word in the Articles. Still further he maintains, that no authority is claimed for enforcing ecclesiastical canons or decreeing rites and ceremonies. This is certainly a very bold assertion, for the seventy-seventh Article gives the power as fully as it is claimed by the English Church. He is correct in stating that no allusion is made to the mode of consecrating the higher orders of the ministry, but he should have added that the ordination of presbyters and deacons was equally omitted, and while the Liturgy remained in force neither was necessary. It is certainly true that the Pope is unhesitatingly called Antichrist, an assertion carefully kept out of the English Articles though firmly believed by many, if not all, the compilers, because they thought it might lead to divisions upon a point, which was not of vital importance. Many a true member of the Church of England and determined opponent of the See of Rome does not believe, that the Pope is Antichrist. Amid this applause of the ultra-Protestant party it is curious to find an eminent Roman Catholic writer maintaining that Ussher in these Articles supported the doctrine of the real presence, yet such is the statement of Dr. O'Conor. Hib. MS. Stow. vol. ii. p. 57. A real presence in Dr. O'Conor's sense of the word is certainly not maintained in the Article, which most clearly states: "Being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signs and seals, that is to say, symbolically and relatively."

[k] Carte's Life of Ormond, vol. i. p. 78.

sively Bishop of Bath and Wells, and of Winchester, "being[l] a great stickler in the quarrels at Cambridge, and a great master in the art of insinuation, had cunningly fashioned King James unto certain Calvinian opinions, to which the King's education in the Kirk of Scotland had before inclined him. So that it was no very hard matter for him (having an Archbishop also of his own persuasion) to make use of the King's authority for recommending the Nine Articles to the Church of Ireland, which he found would not be admitted in the Church of England." Another powerful assistant to Archbishop Abbot and Bishop Montague was no doubt to be found in the Lord Deputy Chichester, who had been a pupil of the notorious Puritan Cartwright. It might also have been part of the crooked policy[m], for which James was remarkable. Aware that the greater part of the Irish people were addicted to Popery, he might have been anxious to drive them into the other extreme as a means of their discovering the errors of their ways and choosing the true doctrine which lay between the opposite errors. Another reason may be found in the state of the North of Ireland. There was no part of his policy towards Ireland upon which James prided himself more than upon the settlement of Ulster. This was carried on most vigorously by settlers from Scotland, who poured into the country tempted by the superior richness of the soil. Upon these adventurers James relied principally for the maintenance of his power against the Roman Catholic natives, and they were so considerable in number as to extort almost any concession they thought fit to demand. It requires not much inquiry to ascertain what their views were: "They[n] brought with them hither such a stock of Puritanism, such a contempt of bishops, such a neglect of the public Liturgy and other divine offices of the Church, that there was nothing less to be found among them than

[l] Wood's Athenæ, vol. ii. pag. 854.

[m] His policy will not however appear in this instance to have been at all different from that which he pursued almost immediately after in sending deputies to the Synod of Dort.

[n] Heylin, Hist. of Presbyterians, p. 393.

the government and forms of worship established in the Church of England."

To the question as to the authority of the Articles Dr. Bernard answers: "Now[n] whereas some have doubted whether they were fully established as the Articles of Ireland, I can testify that I have heard him say, that in the forenamed year 1615 he saw them signed by Archbishop Jones then Lord Chancellor of Ireland, and Speaker of the House of the Bishops in Convocation, signed by the Prolocutor of the House of the Clergy in their names, and also signed by the then Lord Deputy Chichester by order from King James in his name." But this evidence will not prove that the Articles were fully sanctioned, for it does not appear that they ever were submitted to Parliament. Without that sanction they could not be legally enforced. Queen Elizabeth was greatly blamed for stopping in the House of Lords the bill, which had passed the Commons, for enforcing the Thirty-nine Articles, as if it were an invasion of her prerogative, and she did not submit till the year 1571, yet the same persons who censured her conduct will maintain the complete establishment of the Irish Articles, and that it required an Act of Parliament to alter or remove them.

In the year 1614 Ussher was chosen Vice-Chancellor of the University of Dublin. The entry in the Registry is as follows: "Mar. 2, 1614, Doctor Ussher was chosen Vice-Chancellor by the Provost and Fellows, and the next day he was confirmed and approved touching this choice by the whole Senate of the University. July 3, 1817. Dr. Ussher was again chosen Vice-Chancellor by the Provost and Fellows[o]."

From a letter of Dr. Ward it appears that Ussher was

[n] Bernard's Life of Ussher, p. 50.

[o] There is a curious entry with respect to him in 1616.

"May 13, 1616. Mr. Dr. Ussher was chosen to supply the place of Vice-Provost during the Provost's absence.

"It was agreed that Mr. Dr. Ussher should have the fee of his Professorship of Theological Controversies under the College Seal."

It does not appear whence the necessity of this new appointment under the College Seal, nor how he could be elected Vice-Provost when not a Fellow.

This attestation appears to have produced a good effect, but Ussher was indebted for his success much more to a conversation with his Majesty, in which the King exercised his favourite office of examinant into points of faith and doctrine. Of the particulars of the interview no record has been preserved. If the King pressed his two favourite subjects of discussion, the Head of the Church, and the unlawfulness of resistance to regal authority, Ussher could have given his Majesty the fullest satisfaction, that he did not entertain Puritanical notions on these questions; but whatever were the topics debated, he succeeded so completely, that the King declared, "that the knave Puritan was a bad, but the knave's Puritan an honest man." It is probable indeed that his Majesty had many interviews with Ussher, who appears to have remained two years in England. In January 162$\frac{0}{1}$ Dr. Montgomery, Bishop of Meath, died, and the King immediately named Dr. Ussher the new bishop[q], and often boasted "that he was a bishop of his own making." The appointment was hailed with great delight in Ireland, as the following letter from the Lord Deputy testifies:

"*To Dr. James Ussher, Bishop Elect of Meath.*

"*Dublin, 3rd February,* 1620.

"My Lord,—I thank God for your preferment to the Bishoprick of Meath; his Majesty therein has done a gracious favour to his poor Church here: there is none here but are exceeding glad that you are called thereunto, even some Papists themselves have largely testified their gladness of it. Your grant is, and other necessary things shall be sealed this day or to-morrow. I pray God bless you and whatever you undertake, so I rest

"Your Lordship's most affectionate Friend,

"Ol. Grandisone."

[q] Dr. Parr states that his *conge d'elire* was immediately sent over, and he was elected by the Dean and Chapter. This is a strange mistake. A *conge d'elire* is never issued in Ireland, as the Bishoprics are absolute donatives by the 2 Eliz. c. 4; and Meath is the only See in Ireland in which there is not a Dean and Chapter.

Various circumstances at this time had raised the cry of Popery against the King. His remarkable change of sentiment after the Synod of Dort was represented by the Puritans as a conversion to Popery. His refusal to assist his son-in-law the Elector Palatine was held up as a desertion of the Protestant cause, and his projected alliance for his son with the Infanta of Spain gave a new subject for clamour. The King, to silence these rumours, called a new Parliament, but the suspicions of the people extended from the monarch to the House of Commons; and the report was industriously circulated, that many members of the House of Commons were Roman Catholics. In order to remove all pretext for these murmurs it was determined, that the members of the House of Commons should attend at St. Margaret's church on the first Sunday in Lent to receive the communion, and the new Bishop elect was called upon to preach on the occasion. The following extract from the Bishop's memorandums has been preserved by Dr. Parr: "I was appointed by the Lower House of Parliament to preach at St. Margarets Westminster. The Prebends claimed the privilege of the Church and their exemption from episcopal jurisdiction for many hundred years, and offered their own service: whereupon the House being displeased appointed the place to be at the Temple. I was chosen a second time: and Secretary Calvert by the appointment of the House spake to the King, that the choice of their preacher might stand: the King said, it was very well done. Feb. 13 being Shrove Tuesday I dined at Court; and betwixt four and five I kissed the Kings hand, and had conference with him touching my sermon. He said, 'I had charge of an unruly flock to look to next Sunday.' He asked me how I thought it could stand with true divinity, that so many hundred should be tyed upon such short warning to receive the communion upon a day, all could not be in charity after so late contentions in the House: many must needs come without preparation and eat their own condemnation: that himself required all his own household to receive the communion, but not all the same day, unless at Easter, when the whole Lent was a time of pre-

paration. He bad me to tell them I hoped they were all prepared, but wished they might be better; to exhort them to unity and concord; to love God first, and then their Prince and country; to look to the urgent necessities of the times and the miserable state of Christendom with *Bis dat qui cito dat.* Feb. 18th the first Sunday in Lent I preached at St. Margarets to them: and Feb. 27th the House sent Sir James Perrot and Mr. Drake to give me thanks, and to desire me to print the sermon, which was done accordingly; the text being upon the First of the Cor. x. 17. 'For we being many are one bread and one body, for we are all partakers of that one bread.'" The sermon[r] was judicious and forcible. In the first part treating of the Communion of Saints and the mystic body of the Church, he exhorts his hearers to preserve peace not less in civil than in ecclesiastical matters, and to unite in brotherly love not only with our own fellow-citizens, but with all those joined to us in the same faith; and he concludes this part with a compliment upon the liberality, with which they had voted supplies for the support of the Palatine and the Protestant religion. In the second part he puts forward clearly and distinctly the doctrine of the Church of England with respect to the Sacraments, that "they are signs and more than signs, even pledges and assurances of the interest we have in the heavenly things, that are represented by them;" and then more particularly enters into the question about the real presence, which is to be found not in the external symbols, but in the mind of the worthy recipient, and exposes the idolatry of the service offered by the Roman Catholics in their sacrifice of the mass. He concludes with some very strong remarks upon the Jesuits' doctrine with respect to oaths, and more particularly the oath of allegiance, and warns his hearers that "they must provide by all good means that God be not dishonoured by their ido-

[r] This sermon was printed in 1621. See Works, vol. ii. pag. 515. Dr. Parr says that this sermon and one upon Ephes. iv. 13, concerning the unity of the Catholic faith, were all the sermons he could find to have been published with his allowance.

latries, nor our King and State endangered by their secret treacheries."

The death of Bishop Montgomery had not only vacated the See of Meath, but also that of Clogher, to which James Spottiswood, brother of the celebrated Archbishop of St. Andrews, had been named. A serious dispute arose between him and Primate Hampton as to the exercise of episcopal jurisdiction, before he was consecrated. A letter[a] is preserved from Ussher to the Primate professing his determination to respect his metropolitan authority, but at the same time urging his Grace not to bring the question into the courts of law, as he feared they would interpret the words of the Patent in a manner favourable to the King's prerogative, and not to the power of the Keys; that the Act of Elizabeth which took away the *conge d'elire* put the bishop who received the King's patent into the same situation, as if he were canonically elected and confirmed. The Archbishop in answer asserts his own opinion, and combats the arguments advanced by Ussher, but declares that he has no intention of bringing the matter into the courts of law, that he resists the exercise of jurisdiction, and that he will defend himself, if the Bishop of Clogher should feel aggrieved and bring an action against him. It is to be supposed that the Bishop did not feel himself justified in taking such a step, for there is no further notice of the proceedings. Before he returned to Ireland, the Bishop elect resigned the Professorship of Divinity in the University of Dublin. From the measures taken about the appointment of a successor, it appears that the same pernicious counsels, to which I have before alluded, influenced the government of the College. In the Registry Book there is the following entry: "May 9, 1621. Mr. Preston of Queen's College Cambridge was chosen Professor of Theological Controversies, Mr. Dr. Ussher, who is now Bishop of Meath, having surrendered his interest to that place, which for many years together he performed with great credit and good to the College." Preston, whom Ward with great

[a] See Letter xlii. vol. xv. p 155.

justice calls the Patriarch of the Presbyterian party, declined the office. He no doubt preferred the chance of being chosen Master of Emmanuel College at Cambridge, to which station he soon after got himself appointed by a trick. Samuel Ward of Ipswich was then named Professor, but he also declined. The reason is not known, but it is tolerably certain that no loss was sustained by his refusal, for he was soon after silenced by the High Commission Court, and retired into Holland, where it is said that he[t] rejected episcopal ordination, and that he and Mr. Bridge ordained each other. After the place being thus virtually vacant for four years Mr. Joshua Hoyle, one of the Senior Fellows, was appointed in March 1623. He was "a noted Puritan," fled to England in 1641 and became one of the Assembly of Divines. He assisted also in the evidence against Archbishop Laud for his conduct as Chancellor of the University of Dublin.

Dr. Ussher[u] was consecrated in St. Peter's Church, Drogheda, by Primate Hampton. The assisting bishops were Robert Bishop of Down, Thomas Bishop of Kilmore, and Theophilus[v] Bishop of Dromore. His high promotion rather increased than diminished his zeal to spread the true doctrines of Christianity through the land, and he directed his attention to the conversion of the numerous Roman Catholics who were spread over his diocese. He preached with indefatigable constancy, following, as Dr. Bernard remarks, the example of St. Augustine, who "episcopatu[w] suscepto multo instantius ac ferventius majore authoritate, non in una tantum regione sed ubicunque rogatus, verbum salutis æternæ alacriter et suaviter, pullulante atque crescente Domini ecclesia, prædicabat:" and he still further

[t] The only defence Mr. Brooke, in his History of the Puritans, can make for Ward is, that the story is not probable.

[u] I cannot ascertain the date of the consecration. The writ of consecration bears date June 27, 1621. Harris, in his edition of Ware, says that Dr. Ussher was presented to the living of Trim on the 17th of April, 1620, but was never instituted. This is a mistake. The patent granted him the Rectory of Trim, to hold *in commendam* with the Bishoprick.

[v] Theophilus Buckworth, brother-in-law to Dr. Ussher.

[w] Posidon. in Vita August.

bound himself to the observance[x] by the motto of his episcopal seal, "Væ mihi si non Evangelizavero," which he continued after his appointment to the Primacy. When the Roman Catholics expressed a wish to hear him preach, but hesitated at going into the church, he went so far as to indulge their prejudices, and preached to them in the Sessions' House. The sermons produced such an effect, that the priests prohibited the members of their congregation from listening to them in any place whatever. His conferences with the Roman Catholics led him to perceive that one of the strongest holds which their religion had upon their minds, was the notion of its antiquity, the notion that they held unimpaired the doctrines handed down from generation to generation. To eradicate these false opinions the Bishop composed his tract upon the religion of the ancient Irish, designed to shew that the creed of Pope Pius was as unlike the creed of their ancestors, as it was to that of the Protestants whom they regarded as heretics, and this work he published some years afterwards in London.

In the commencement of the year 1622 a Royal Commission was issued for the visitation of the province of Armagh, and the several bishops made a return of the state of their several dioceses. The report for the diocese of Meath was of course drawn up by the new Bishop, and is still preserved in the Library of the University of Dublin. As this document was the first episcopal act of Bishop Ussher and contains very curious information with respect to the state of the Church at that period, I have printed the return at length in the Appendix[y]. Though the diocese of Meath was at that time the best arranged and most civilized part of Ireland, the description affords lamentable proof of the want of adequate religious instruction for the people, and gives a ready answer to the question, why the Reformation did not make greater progress; want of churches, want of residences, and want of income for the clergy.

[x] Dr. Bernard says that an anagram was given to him of his name James Meath, I am the same.

[y] See Appendix V. p. li.

In this year the clamour unjustly raised against him procured the removal of the Lord Deputy Grandison. His conduct in enforcing the Penal Statutes against the Roman Catholics and obliging the Regulars to leave the country, had been grossly exaggerated into crimes of enormous oppression and tyranny. The clamour thus excited by the Roman Catholics was industriously extended by many of the most powerful members of the State, whom the Lord Deputy with more honesty than caution had forced to disgorge the plunder, which they had iniquitously made of the Church lands. This was an offence not to be forgiven, and these lawless titled plunderers joined the cry of the Roman Catholics, and beset the throne with applications to remove the Lord Deputy. Their complaints were successful, and the King removed the Deputy, though with strange inconsistency he at the same time heaped honours upon him as the reward of his services.

The success of these schemes was attributed by the Roman Catholics solely to their own influence, and raised their spirits to such a height that they could no longer be restrained within the limits of decent order and subordination. While the country was in this state of excitement, Henry Cary Viscount Falkland arrived in Dublin, and was sworn in Lord Deputy on the 8th of September. On this occasion the Bishop of Meath was called upon to preach, and in a letter to Lord Grandison gives the following account of the sermon and of the reasons which induced him to deliver such advice. "The day that my Lord of Falkland received the sword I preached in Christ Church, and fitting myself to the present occasion took for my text these words in the thirteenth to the Romans 'He beareth not the sword in vain.' There I shewed, 1. What was meant by this sword. 2. The subject wherein that power vested. 3. The matters wherein it was exercised. 4. Thereupon what it was to bear the sword in vain. Whereupon falling upon the duty of the magistrate in seeing those laws executed that were made for the furtherance of God's service, I first declared that no more was to be expected herein from the subordinate magistrate, than he had received in commission from the supreme; in whose power it lay to limit the other

at his pleasure. Secondly, I wished that if his Majesty (who is under God our supreme Governor), were pleased to extend the clemency towards his subjects that were recusants, some order notwithstanding might be taken with them, that they should not give us public affronts, and take possession of our churches before our faces. And that it might appear that it was not without cause that I made this motion, I instanced in two particulars that had lately fallen out in mine own diocess: the one certified unto me by Mr. John Ankers, preacher of Athlone, a man well known unto your Lordship, who wrote unto me, 'that going to read prayers at Kilkenny in Westmeath he found an old priest and about forty with him in the church; who was so bold as to require him (the said Ankers) to depart, until he had done his business.' The other concerning the friars who not content to possess the house of Multifernan alone, whence your Lordship had dislodged them, went about to make collections for the re-edifying of another abbey near Mullingar, for the entertaining of another swarm of locusts. These things I touched only in general, not mentioning any circumstances of persons or places. Thirdly, I did entreat, that whatsoever connivance were used unto others, the laws might be strictly executed against such as revolted from us, that we might at least keep our own, and not suffer them without all fear to fall away from us. Lastly, I made a public protestation, that it was far from my mind to excite the magistrate unto any violent courses against them, as one that naturally did abhor cruel dealings, and wished that effusion of blood might be held rather the badge of the whore of Babylon, than of the Church of God." Such is the account which the Bishop gives of his sermon. It certainly was not received in any friendly spirit. The Roman Catholic priests persuaded their flocks that the preacher had told the Lord Deputy, that "the sword had rested too long in the sheath," and that the arm of persecution should be raised against all recusants. The censure was not confined to the Roman Catholics: the Primate, Hampton, wrote a very severe letter[2] to the Bishop, and

[2] See Works, vol. xv. p. 183.

advised him "to give lenitives of his own accord for all which was conceived overharsh and sharp." He adds a recommendation to leave Dublin, and spend more time in his diocese. The result of all this clamour was, that the Bishop of Meath found it necessary to preach an explanatory sermon[a] to appease the tumult, but further information is not afforded: Cox does not relate where the sermon was preached, or on what occasion, or whether the Lord Deputy was present. Dr. Parr and Dr. Bernard, who must have been acquainted with the whole transaction, preserve a most mysterious silence upon the subject, they never even mention the occurrence, which is the more remarkable as in the collection of letters published by Dr. Parr there is found not only the Bishop's letter to Lord Grandison, but also the Primate's severe reproof.

It appears however that the Government could not have been displeased with the Bishop's sermon, for within two months he was called upon to execute a very delicate and important office in the Privy Council[b]. "Certain officers" had refused to take the oath of supremacy and were summoned before the Privy Council to be censured. On this occasion the Bishop of Meath was appointed to address the recusants: the object of his speech[c] is thus stated by himself: "What the danger of the law is for refusing this oath hath been sufficiently opened by my Lords the Judges; and the quality and quantity of that offence hath been aggravated to the full by those that have spoken after them. The part which is most proper for me to deal in, is the information of the conscience touching the truth and equity

[a] Cox's Hist. of Ireland, vol. ii. p. 39.

[b] There is some difficulty in ascertaining the date of his appointment as a Privy Counsellor. In Dr. Parr's collection of letters there is one from Mr. H. Holcroft to the Bishop of Meath dated June 23, 1623, making an apology for not having sooner forwarded his letter of appointment to be a Privy Counsellor. As he certainly was a Privy Counsellor in November 1622, the date of this letter must be a mistake, and I suppose ought to have been June 1622.—See vol. xv. p. 189. King James had in November 1621 issued a King's letter granting to the Bishop a remittal of his First Fruits as a proof of his regard.

[c] The speech is given at length, vol. ii. p. 459.

of the matters contained in the oath." The Bishop stated that there were two branches of the oath which required special consideration. "The one positive, acknowledging the supremacy of the Government of these realms, in all causes whatsoever, to rest in the King's highness only; the other negative, renouncing all jurisdictions and authorities of any foreign prince or prelate within his Majesty's dominions." Dr. Leland states that the Bishop "enforced the lawfulness of the oath with powerful eloquence." I must differ from this excellent critic; indeed I can only account for his statement upon the supposition that he never read the speech, for there does not appear to me one eloquent passage in the whole argument. I should have said that any appearance of eloquence was studiously avoided, and the speech confined to mere quotations of authorities. However it is said to have produced an effect[d]. Dr. Parr states "that divers of the offenders being satisfied that they might lawfully take their oaths, did thereby avoid the sentence of præmunire, then ready to be pronounced against them." A copy of the Bishop's speech[e] was sent to the King, who expressed in the most flattering terms his sense of the abi-

[d] The correctness and authority of the interpretation was maintained many years after. In 1662 the Earl of Cassilis refused to take the oath of supremacy unless an explanation were made of the supremacy, as the words of the oath were large: and he stated that when the oath was enacted in England a clear explanation was given in one of the Articles of the Church of England, and more copiously afterwards in a discourse by Archbishop Ussher, published by King James' order.—See Burnet, Hist. of his own Times, vol. i. p. 144.

[e] A curious proof is afforded by this speech of the Bishop of Meath that the Irish Articles never were fully sanctioned. He refers for an explanation of his position "that the power of the civil sword only is meant by that Government," to the Book of Articles agreed upon in the Convocation holden in London in 1562, and quotes at length the thirty-seventh Article. He then proceeds: "If it be here objected that the authority of Convocation is not a sufficient ground for the exposition of that which was enacted in Parliament; I answer that these Articles stand confirmed, not only by the Royal assent of the Prince (for the establishing of whose supremacy the oath was framed) but also by a special Act of Parliament, 13 Eliz. c. 12." Now he might have quoted the very same words from the Irish Articles, and it would have been more suited to his subject to have done so, if he had not been impeded by the want of sanction to the Irish Articles which the English possessed.

lity with which the arguments had been brought forward. His letter was as follows:

"JAMES REX.

"Right Reverend Father in God and Right truly and well beloved Councellor, we greet you well. You have not deceived our expectations, nor the gracious opinion we ever conceived of your abilities in learning, and of your faithfulness to us and our service. Whereof as we have received sundry testimonies both from our precedent Deputies, as likewise from our Right trusty and well beloved Cousin and Counsellor, the Viscount Falkland, our present Deputy of that realm: so have we now of late, in one particular, had a further evidence of your duty and affection well expressed by your late carriage in our Castle Chamber there, at the censure of those disobedient magistrates, who refused to take the oath of supremacy. Wherein your zeal to the maintenance of our just and lawful power, defended with so much learning and reason, deserves our princely and gracious thanks; which we do by this our letter unto you, and so bid you farewell. Given under our signet at our Court at Whitehall, the eleventh of January 1622. In the twentieth year of our reign of Great Britain, France and Ireland.

"To the Right Reverend Father in God and our Right trusty and well beloved Councellor, the Bishop of Meath."

No particulars have been transmitted to us of the manner in which the Bishop of Meath managed his diocese, nor of the measures he adopted to improve the wretched state of his clergy and their churches, which are so fully described in the report made in the first year of his consecration to the Regal visitation. That he made considerable efforts to convert the Roman Catholics by preaching to them has been already mentioned, and that the Roman Catholics took offence at his measures may be collected from a letter of Sir Henry Bourgchier dated April 1622, in which he says, "I hear[f] much murmurings among the Papists

[f] See Letter l. Works, vol. xv. p. 174.

here, especially those of our country against some new persecutions (you know their phrase) lately raised in Ireland, and particularly against some courses of your Lordship's in the diocese of Meath; as namely in the case of clandestine christenings, &c. beyond all others of your rank." Yet the severe remark in Archbishop Hampton's letter before alluded to confirms what a mere inspection of the dates of his visits to England must have suggested to every one, that his private studies occupied too much of his time. Even before he was Bishop of Meath we may well wonder how he could have discharged the duties of the Professorship of Divinity, when he was two years absent in England, from September 1619 to July 1621. We now find him obtaining a King's letter from James ordering the Lord Deputy and Council to grant him leave of absence for an indefinite time. The letter was as follows:

"JAMES REX.

"Right trusty and well beloved Cousins and Councellors, we greet you well. Whereas we have heretofore in our princely judgment made choice of the Right Reverend Father in God Dr. James Ussher Lord Bishop of Meath, to employ him in collecting the Antiquities of the British Church before and since the Christian faith was received by the English nation. And whereas we are already given to understand, that the said Bishop hath already taken pains in divers things in that kind, which being published might tend to the furtherance of religion and good learning: Our pleasure therefore is, that so soon as the said Bishop hath settled the necessary affairs of his bishoprick there, he should repair into England and to one of the Universities here, to enable himself by the helps to be had there to proceed the better to the finishing of the said work, Requiring you hereby to cause our Licence to be passed unto him the said Lord Bishop of Meath, under our great seal, or otherwise as he shall desire it, and unto you shall be thought fit, for his repairing unto this kingdom for our service, and for his continuance here, so long time as he shall have occasion to stay about the perfecting of those works undertaken

by him, by our commandment and for the good of the Church."

The Bishop must have proceeded to London about the end of November 1623. It appears from a letter of Sir Henry Bourgchier, that he had not reached London on the 22nd of November 1623, and Dr. James in the January following mentions that he had been some few weeks there. Dr. Parr is very confused in this part of his narrative, he makes the Bishop return to Ireland in 1624, publish his answer to the Jesuit Malone, and proceed again to England; but the answer to the Jesuit was published in London at the very end of 1624 or beginning of 1625, and I think it could be proved from the dates of letters that the Bishop did not return to Ireland till August, 1626. He preached before the King in June, 1624, was in England certainly in September and November, and resident at Much Haddam in the beginning of January, and in August, 1625.

The subject of the sermon he preached before the King at Wansted was the Universality of the Church of Christ, a learned and well arranged discourse, particularly suited to the taste of James, as it enters into the question of the Roman Church as predicted in the Apocalypse, and of the Pope being Antichrist, discusses the different creeds, and then answers the objections of the Roman Catholics in the question, where was the religion of the Protestants before Luther. The sermon was published by command of the King. The Bishop also published his answer to the Jesuit Malone[s], which had been for some time in preparation. Six years had elapsed since William Malone, an Irish Jesuit, published a challenge for any Protestant to answer him,

[s] William Malone was born in Dublin about the year 1586. He went at an early age first to Portugal, then to Rome, where he became a member of the Order of Jesuits in the twentieth year of his age. He soon after returned to Ireland, and remained there till he was sent for to Rome and appointed Rector of the Irish College of St. Isidore. After governing this College for six years he returned again to Ireland as Superior of the whole Mission of the Jesuits. In this office he excited the suspicion of the Government, and was arrested; but having contrived to make his escape, he fled to Spain, where he died in 1659, Rector of the Irish College at Seville.

What Bishop of Rome did alter the religion which the Protestants acknowledge to have been true for the first four hundred years? and how can their religion be true which disalloweth the chief articles which the Saints and Fathers of that primitive Church held to be true? Dr. Ussher put forth a short answer at the time, replying in general to the question proposed, and accepting the challenge by calling upon Malone to bring forward his proofs. This Malone never did; and Ussher would not have proceeded further, had not, as he says himself in the preface, "some of high place in both kingdoms advised him to go forward and to give the judgment of antiquity touching those particular points in controversy wherein the challenger was so confident, that the whole current of the doctors, pastors, and fathers of the primitive Church did mainly run on his side." The work consists of eleven chapters, on Tradition, the Real Presence, Confession, the Priest's Power to forgive sins, Purgatory, Prayers for the Dead, Limbus Patrum, and Christ's descent into Hell, Prayers to Saints, Images, Free Will, Merits, and is dedicated to King James, but I believe he died before the work was actually published. The author declares, "the doctrine which I take upon me to defend is that which by public authority is professed in the Church of England, and comprised in the Book of Articles agreed upon in the Synod held at London in the year MDLXII. concerning which I dare be bold to challenge our challenger and all his complices that they shall never be able to prove that there is either any one article of religion disallowed therein, which the Saints and Fathers of the primitive Church did generally hold to be true, or any one point of doctrine, which by those Saints and Fathers was generally held to be untrue." In this work, as in that "De Ecclesiarum Christianarum Successione et Statu," the number and variety of the quotations must astonish the reader; the very list of authors which are quoted is sufficient to impress the mind with wonder at the learning and diligence of the author. This work will always hold a foremost place among the bulwarks of the Protestant faith against the innovations of Romanism, and is particularly

successful in exhibiting the novelty of the doctrines, which are triumphantly put forward as the "Quod ubique, quŏd semper, quod ab omnibus." To give any abstract of the work would be impossible, it must be read through in order to form any opinion of its merits. Three years elapsed before Malone took any notice of this work, and he then published at Douay an answer, the title of which was "A Reply to Dr. Ussher's Answer about the Judgment of Antiquity concerning the Romish Religion." The argument was weak, and supported either by false and garbled quotations from the Fathers, or by extracts from books of doubtful authority containing such false miracles and legends as could only impose upon the ignorant, and the style was such as rendered it unworthy of the Bishop's notice. "Not a page," says Dr. Synge, "may be found, wherein he useth not a licentious libertie and a reviling tongue against the most learned answerer. Whereupon some Divines did labour to dissuade the most Reverend the Lord Primate from rejoining thereunto, in regard of the indignity of the raylor and violence of the work, and also because it would hinder him in other studies more necessary for the Church, and did offer their endeavours to examine the same, which being accepted the work is now so farre prepared that it waytes at the presse." Dr. Synge then adds that he published the first part because he understood that the adverse party had used deceit, and got possession of the sheets as they were printed in order to answer them. This first part is stated to be, "wherein the general answer to the challenge is cleared from all the Jesuits' cavills." The whole work was never published. Dr. Hoyle, who also published an answer[h] in 1641, states that "it was first intended that all should go under one as a common work, without any particular name," and that he, for his part, was ready. But seeing, he says, "the work suffered some unexpected delayes, he undertook a more laborious task, and as the Lord Primate had prevented him in the Fathers, he directed his

[h] A third answer was published by Mr. Puttock, who styles himself, Minister of God's Word at Navan.

course for the schoolmen, that he might 'persequi fontes Papismi' and drive them home to their own cabin."

On the 3rd of January, 162⅓, died Primate Hampton, and in the March following James appointed the Bishop of Meath[1] his successor. This was almost the last act of James' reign, for he died within a few days. His successor, however, did not shew himself less attentive to the new Primate, for not long after his accession he signified by a letter under his privy signet to the Lord Deputy and the Treasurer of Ireland, that "Whereas the present Archbishop of Armagh had for many years together, on several occasions, performed many painful and acceptable services to his dear Father deceased, and upon his special directions, that therefore he was pleased, as a gracious acceptation thereof, and in consideration of his said services done or to be done hereafter, to bestow upon the said Primate out of his princely bounty 400 pound English, out of the revenues of that kingdom."

Since his arrival in England he had been in the habit of preaching constantly, and had been induced by some ministers in Essex to preach on the week days, as they could not hear him on Sundays; but this exertion was too much for his strength, and immediately upon his appointment to the Primacy he was seized with a quartan ague, from which he did not recover for many months. Soon after his recovery an incident occurred, which produced important consequences to the Primate in his after life. The only note of it in his handwriting is as follows: "That in November, 1625, he was invited by Lord Mordant and his lady to my Lord's house at Drayton in Northamptonshire, to confer

[1] Dr. Parr, and of course the succeeding biographers, here relate his election by the Dean and Chapter, which never could have taken place, see page 52. Dr. Parr then proceeds to relate a circumstance which I do not very well understand, and shall give in his own words: "The next testimony that he received of His Majesty's favour was his letter to a person of quality in Ireland, who had newly obtained the custodium of the temporalities of that see, forbidding him to meddle with, or receive any of the rents or profits of the same, but immediately to deliver what he had already received unto the receivers of the present Archbishop, since he was here employed on His Majesty's special service."

with a priest he then kept, by the name of Beaumont, upon the points in dispute between the Church of Rome and ours: and particularly that the religion maintained by publick authority in the Church of England was no new religion, but the same that was taught by our Saviour and his Apostles, and ever continued in the primitive Church during the purest times." Lord Mordant, afterwards Earl of Peterborough, was a zealous Roman Catholic, and his lady, the daughter and heiress of Howard Lord Effingham, a Protestant: Lord Mordant was very anxious for the conversion of his lady, and consented that each should choose a divine to hold a disputation on the controverted points between the Churches. Lady Mordant made choice of Archbishop Ussher, and prevailed upon him, though not yet quite recovered, to undertake the journey. His antagonist was a priest called Beaumont, but his real name was Rookwood, a brother of Ambrose Rookwood, who had been executed for the Gunpowder Plot. The points proposed were, Transubstantiation, Invocation of Saints, Images, Visibility of the Church. Three days were spent in disputation, three hours in the forenoon of each day, and two hours in the afternoon, and during this time the Primate was opponent. On the fourth day the Jesuit was to take the place of opponent, while the Primate was the respondent; but when the appointed hour arrived he did not appear, but sent, as an excuse, a message to the Earl, "that all the arguments he had framed within his own head, and thought he had them as perfect as his Paternoster, he had forgotten: that he believed it was the just judgment of God upon him thus to desert him in the defence of his cause, for the undertaking of himself to dispute with a man of that eminence and learning without the license of his superiors." The Earl was displeased with this shuffling excuse, and entered into further discussion with the Archbishop, the result of which was that he became a sincere convert, and continued a member of the Church of England till his death, and the Archbishop obtained in the Countess a faithful friend, whose attachment soothed and comforted the closing hours of his life. Dr. Bernard gives this narrative from an eye-witness, and it is confirmed by a

reproach thrown upon Beaumont by Chaloner, a secular priest, who admonishes him "to beware of Drayton House, lest he should there chance to light upon another Ussher and be again put to flight, to the great disgrace both of himself and his profession."

The Primate did not return to Ireland, after his appointment to the Primacy, till August 1626. It appears that his arrival there had been anxiously looked for, and he had received most flattering letters of congratulation from Lord Falkland, the Lord Deputy, from the Lord Chancellor Loftus, the Archbishop of Dublin, and many other distinguished persons. The only one of these given in Dr. Parr's collection, is from the Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh, Thomas Moygne; this letter is not only complimentary to the Primate, but gives a lamentable picture of the Irish Church. "I do congratulate with unspeakable joy and comfort your preferment, and that both out of the true and unfeigned love I have ever borne you (for many years continued) as also out of an assured and most firm persuasion that God hath ordained you a special instrument for the good of the Irish Church, the growth whereof (notwithstanding all His Majesty's endowments and directions) receives every day more impediments and oppositions than ever, and that not only in Ulster, but begins to spread itself into other places, so that the inheritance of the Church is made arbitrary at the Council table: impropriators in all places may hold all ancient customs, only they upon whom the cure of souls is laid are debarred: St. Patricks[j] ridges which you know

[j] Among the duties reserved in ancient leases, that denominated Ridges occurs frequently; it appears probable that a certain number of days in harvest to which the lord was entitled became commuted, and the duty ascertained by the measure of the pace in preference to that of time: hence a ridge of work in sowing or reaping became by mutual consent a substitute for the service of one or more days. It appears from the Rolls, 4 Edw. VI., that on the 10th of May, 1550, the Warden and Procurators of the parish church of St. Patrick leased the ridges of corn called St. Patrick's ridges, throughout the dioceses of Ferns, Ossory, Leighlin, and Kildare, and the deaneries of Omurthy, Rathmore, and Salmon-Leap, for three years, at six marks Irish per annum. Ussher, in his Proctor's book for 1606, has in his receipts for that year inserted as follows:

belonged to the fabrick of that church are taken away: within the diocess of Ardagh the whole clergy, being all poor vicars and curates, by a declaration of one of the judges this last circuit (by what direction I know not) without speedy remedy will be brought to much decay; the which I rather mention because it is within your province. The more is taken away from the King's clergy, the more accrews to the Pope's; and the servitors and undertakers, who should be instruments for settling a Church, do hereby advance their rents and make the Church poor. In a word, in all consultations which concern the Church not the advice of sages but of young counsellors is followed."

Before the Primate left England he was engaged in a very disagreeable contest with Dr. Ryves about the patent which he took out for the office of Judge of the Prerogative Court. It would seem from the letters of Archbishop Ussher, that Dr. Ryves[k] claimed by his patent "to exercise the office of the Prerogative and Faculties" independently of the Primate, and that he had contrived to get the support of the Lord Keeper Williams. The Archbishop wrote to the Lord Keeper and the Lord Treasurer a letter, commenting upon the conduct of Dr. Ryves with a severity quite unusual to him: he says: "Your Lordships had need to watch this mans fingers, whenever you trust

"Item St. Patrickes ridges for Kilkennye . . . . 2*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.*
Item St. Patrickes ridges for the deanrye of Morphye, the Nase and Kildare . . . . . 2*l.* 0*s.* 0*d.*
N. B. St. Patricks ridges from henceforth set to Mr. Robinson and Mr. Bolger for 6*l.* 13*s.* 4*d.* Irish per ann.
Item Mr. Robinson to pay an organist during his life 10*l.* Irish per annum."—*Mason's Hist. of St. Patrick's*, p. 71.

From the letter of the Bishop of Kilmore it appears that these ridges had been only lately taken away from the church in 1625.

[k] Dr. Ryves had been a Fellow of New College, Oxford, and afterwards an eminent advocate in Doctors' Commons and the Court of Admiralty. In the year 1618 he was made a Master in Chancery, and Judge of the Faculties and Prerogative in Ireland. He wrote there, "The Poor Vicar's Plea," and an able answer to that mischievous work called "Analecta sacra." On the Rebellion of 1641 he left Ireland and supported the cause of his Royal master, fighting in his service at an advanced age. He was one of the assistants to the King at the treaty of peace in the Isle of Wight, and was held in great esteem by His Majesty.

him with drawing up of any orders or letters that do concern his own particular; for otherwise you may chance to find him as nimble in putting tricks upon yourselves for his own advantage, as now he is in putting them upon me;" and again he says: "By his incensing of my lord of Canterbury against me (of whose Grace I never yet deserved evil), by his abusing of me in his reports unto your Lordships, and by his disgraceful traducing of me in all companies, he hath made himself utterly unworthy of the favor which I intended to shew unto him." The Archbishop most fairly states: "Did ever any reasonable man hold it to be a thing unreasonable, that a substitute should be ordered by him that hath appointed him to be a substitute?" He then mentions the peculiar difficulties in Ireland, "that the power of granting dispensations is not by law restrained to any competent distance of place, to any certain number of benefices, or to any qualification of persons, and therefore that it was in no ways fit the substitute should have authority to grant faculties as he listed;" and he concludes with the fair proposal, "that the same power should be reserved to him and his successors that the Archbishop of Canterbury retains unto himself in the office of Prerogative and Faculties." The termination of this dispute is not recorded; but it is more than probable that Dr. Ryves, supported by the Lord Keeper, triumphed, and this opinion is confirmed by the favor subsequently shewn to him: he was knighted by Charles, and appointed his Advocate.

The Primate was scarcely settled in his new dignity, when a political measure, fraught with consequences of great moment to Ireland, called him forward. The Roman Catholic party had at this time assumed a very hostile position. A bull had been issued by Pope Urban VIII., exhorting his Irish flock to give up their lives rather than take the oath of supremacy, by which the sceptre of the Catholic Church was wrested from the hand of the Vicar of God; and this unchristian exhortation to rebellion had already begun to produce its effect in the manifest contempt of Lord Falkland's government. In this state of affairs Charles determined to increase his forces in Ireland. The

account of the subsequent proceedings is thus given by Dr. Leland: "With a strict attention to œconomy the additional recruits were destined to fill up the old instead of forming any new bodies: yet still unable to supply the necessary expence and unassisted by Parliament, the King without scruple recurred for the present to prerogative. He ordered the army to be quartered on the different counties and towns of Ireland, who were to maintain them in turn, for three months at a time, with money, cloaths, and victuals. To reconcile the people to an imposition so extraordinary and so severe, letters were addressed by his Deputy to the several communities, recommending a chearful submission, promising that the usual composition should be suspended, and that the King should grant other graces, which should amply repay this their extraordinary expence. The hopes of extorting some favourable concessions from the King's necessities induced the Irish subjects to submit, with less reluctance, to the present burden. They were still exposed to vexatious inquisitions into the titles of their estates, and were impatient to be freed from the apprehensions of litigious suits. The popish party were not more solicitous for the interests of their religion, than to extricate themselves from the disadvantages and mortifications to which they were exposed by the penal statutes. Their brethren in England were assiduous to recommend themselves to the King, by supporting zealously his unconstitutional measures. With the same policy the recusants of Ireland affected an extraordinary solicitude to provide for the necessities of his Irish government. They conferred with the State at Dublin. They gave Lord Falkland assurances, that if some indulgence were granted to those of their religion, a voluntary contribution might be obtained for the maintenance of the King's army. Those of the Protestant party, who had their grievances to be redressed, and their apprehensions to be quieted, concurred in these assurances. They were favourably received. A grand meeting of the principal nobility and gentry, in which the popish party was by far the more numerous, assembled in the castle of Dublin: they offered large contributions to purchase secu-

rity to their lands, and a suspension of the penal statutes. Lord Falkland, far from discouraging their overtures, advised them to send agents into England to make a tender of their dutiful services to the King, and to submit the grievances and inconveniences to which they were exposed, to his gracious consideration. The bare hopes of indulgence were sufficient to elevate the spirits of the popish party, even to extravagance. Reports were spread that they were now to be gratified with a full toleration of their religion, and it was exercised with an offensive triumph, as if that toleration were already granted."

It is not to be supposed that these proceedings were suffered to pass unheeded by the Protestant party in Ireland. Their religious feelings taught them that the danger of selling the truth and establishing idolatry in the land was a sin against God, while their political sagacity could not but foresee the danger to their peaceful settlement, of giving additional powers to their bitterest enemies, already too strong in their numbers. These apprehensions were deeply felt by the clergy of the Established Church, and the awful crisis which seemed approaching called forward the Primate to assemble his brethren, and deliberate upon the measures which ought to be pursued. Twelve of the Prelates assembled, and drew up a form of protestation, which was as follows:

"The Judgment of divers of the Arch-Bishops, and Bishops of Ireland, concerning Toleration of Religion.

"The religion of the Papists is superstitious, and idolatrous; their faith and doctrine, erroneous and heretical; their Church in respect of both, apostatical. To give them therefore a toleration, or to consent that they may freely exercise their religion, and profess their faith and doctrine, is a grievous sin, and that in two respects: For,

"1. It is to make our selves accessary, not only to their superstitions, idolatries, and heresies, and in a word, to all the abominations of Popery; but also (which is a consequent of the former) to the perdition of the seduced people, which perish in the deluge of the Catholick apostacy.

"2. To grant them toleration, in respect of any money to be given, or contribution to be made by them, is to set religion to sale, and with it, the souls of the people, whom Christ our Saviour hath redeemed with his most precious blood: And as it is a great sin, so also a matter of most dangerous consequence: the consideration whereof we commend to the Wise and Judicious. Beseeching the God of Truth, to make them, who are in authority, zealous of God's glory, and of the advancement of true religion: zealous, resolute, and courageous against all Popery, superstition and idolatry. Amen.

"Ja. Armachanus.	Richard, Cork, Cloyne, Rossens.
Mal. Casellen.	Arch. Alachadens.
Anth. Medensis.	Tho. Kilmore, & Ardagh.
Tho. Fernes, and Leghlin.	Theo. Dromore.
Ro. Dunensis, &c.	Michael, Waterford & Lysmore.
Georg. Derens.	Fran. Lymerick."

It does not appear why the other bishops did not sign this document. The bishopric of Clonfert was at this time vacant, and the Bishop of Ossory most probably was unable to leave Kilkenny, as he was upwards of eighty years of age; yet still seven bishops remain to be accounted for. Dr. Smith states that the Primate summoned the meeting at Drogheda[1], which may have rendered it inconvenient for some of them to attend.

[1] The Archbishop of Armagh had a residence in Palace-street, Drogheda, and another at Termonfechen, within a few miles, from which many of Archbishop Ussher's letters were written. The house at Termonfechen was destroyed in the Rebellion of 1641, and never afterwards repaired. Archbishop Bramhall had collected materials for repairing the house and enclosing the park, but his death interrupted the work. He left by his will the materials to his successor, but the work was not completed. A small part of the wall was standing a few years ago, but it is now entirely destroyed. It is a very general mistake that the castle which still remains was the residence of Archbishop Ussher. It is so stated by Wright in his Louthiana, by Grose, and by every succeeding writer. The archiepiscopal residence stood close to the river on the west side. The castle is on the east side of the river, and is the property of the Rev. William Brabazon, whose estate is separated by the river from that of the Archbishop of Armagh. The palace in Drogheda was repaired, after the Restoration, by Primate Bramhall, and subsequently enlarged by Primate Margetson,

The judgment of the Bishops was not made known at the time it was drawn up; its publication was reserved for a very solemn occasion. On the 23rd of April, 1627, the Assembly met again, and the Bishop of Derry (Downham) preached at Christ Church before the Lord Deputy and Council. Dr. Bernard states that his text was St. Luke, chap. 1, vv. 23, 24, 25, and that "he spake much against mens subordinating religion and the keeping of a good conscience for outward and worldly respects and to set their souls to sale for the gain of earthly matters." He then proceeds, from the Bishop's notes, to give the following account of the sermon: "The preamble he made was thus: 'Are not many among us for gain and outward respects, willing and ready to consent to a toleration of false religion, and thereby making themselves guilty

and continued the residence of the Primate until the appointment of Primate Boulter. The prominent part which that Prelate took in the government of the country made it more convenient for him to reside in or near Dublin, and in this practice, most injurious to the Church, he was followed by his successors, Primate Hoadly and Primate Stone. During this period the palace at Drogheda was suffered to go to ruin, and there is now considerable difficulty in tracing its former site. Archbishop Hampton seems to have been the first prelate who made any arrangements for fixing the episcopal residence at Armagh, and he separated three hundred acres for mensal lands. Nothing further was done till Primate Marsh rebuilt a house in Armagh, as a residence for himself and his successors. From some mistake, a lessee of the Archbishop got possession of the house, and Primate Lindsay could not recover it, but left £300 to assist in procuring a residence, on condition of the lease not being renewed to the tenant, Mr. Dawson. The house was recovered, but remained in a very unfit state for the Primate's residence. When Dr. Robinson was removed from the See of Kildare to the Primacy, he built on the mensal lands, separated by Archbishop Hampton, a handsome residence for himself and his successors. It is greatly to be regretted that the liberality and munificence of Primate Robinson was not guided by good taste, or by any respect for the ancient remains of the country to which he had been removed. When Bishop of Ferns, he had part of the venerable old cathedral pulled down, in order to build the walls of the churchyard, and he surrounded the ruins of the ancient abbey at Armagh with the farm-offices. The present Primate, Lord John Beresford, has expended very large sums of money in endeavouring to remove the original defects, but many of them are incurable. The farm-yard is removed, and the abbey is now enclosed, so as not to offend the good taste or good feeling of the visiter. The Abbey, however, is a very rude structure, without any pretension to architectural beauty.

of a great offence, in putting to sale not only their own souls but also the souls of others. But what is to be thought of toleration of religion, I will not deliver my own private opinion, but the judgment of the Archbishops and Bishops of this kingdom, which I think good to publish unto you, that whatsoever shall happen the world may know, that we were far from consenting to those favours which the Papists expect.' After he had published it, and the people had given their votes also with a general acclamation, crying, Amen; he added as followeth: 'But some may object in saying you hinder the King's service. I answer, God forbid, that what is spoken for the maintenance of religion and the service of God, should be thought to be an hinderance of the King's service; but we are so far from that, as with all our hearts we desire not only that the sole army of five thousand five hundred may be maintained, but also a far greater army, besides that of trained soldiers, be settled for the defence of the country: only this we desire, that his gracious Majesty will be pleased to reserve to himself the most of those peculiar graces, which of late have been offered, the greatest whereof might much better be spared than granted for the dishonor of God and the King, to the prejudice and impeachment of true religion, and countenance of the contrary; and what is wanting may be supplied by the country, and I shall exhort all good subjects and sound Christians to shew their forwardness in this behalf.' The Lord Primate, the next Lord's day, preached before the same auditory; the text was 'Love not the world nor the things that are in the world,' when he made the like application with the Bishop, rebuking those who for worldly ends like Judas, sell Christ for thirty pieces of silver, or as Balaam following the wages of unrighteousness: foretelling, as he had often done, of judgments for these our inclinations to such permissions and tolerations, that wherein men might think to be gainers, at the end they would be losers; that speech of Jeremiah to Baruch, of Gods being about 'to pluck up what he had planted,' and to break down what he had built, and his bidding him 'not to seek great things for himself,' he applied to these present times."

This conduct of the Irish prelates has drawn upon them the severe reprehension of Bayle, in which he has been followed by many other writers. He says: "Vous remarquerez, s'il vous plait, qu'Usserus et ses sufragans agirent selon les principes de l'intolerance la plus outrée; car ils ne se fonderent point sur des maximes d'Etat, comme font les intolerans mitigez. Ils se fonderent uniquement sur la qualité des cultes de la communion Romaine, sans faire mention de son esprit persecutant, qui est la seule cause pourquoi les tolerans mêmes supposent qu'il ne la faut point tolerer." Bayle is undoubtedly mistaken in his statement with respect to the advocates of toleration. Milton, in his Essay on Toleration, expressly excepts the Romanists on the ground of their idolatry alone. The authority or example of Milton[m] would, however, be a bad defence for the Irish bishops. Their best defence is to be found in the state of affairs at that period. The suspension of the Acts prohibiting Roman Catholics from the free exercise of their religion has already been noticed[n]. The effect of this toleration had been to raise the spirits of the Roman Catholics beyond all just bounds, and to excite them not only to display, in an offensive manner, the celebration of their own ritual, but to interrupt the services of the Reformed Church. The bishops were, not without cause, alarmed at the consequences which were likely to ensue, if, instead of a suspension of the laws against them, actual power should be vested in the Roman Catholics, and they were deeply impressed with the conviction that it was a great sin to sell this toleration for money, that it was, in fact, "to set religion to sale." But

[m] Dr. Aikin, in his Life of Ussher, assigns as the reason for Milton's inconsistency, "his familiarity with the Jewish Scriptures." This is certainly an extraordinary statement. But this advocate of liberality can find one class of men who are to be restrained from interference in public matters. The bishops are not to be allowed to give an opinion in the political concerns of the nation, because "they are influenced by peculiar interests and prejudices." To carry out this principle, all persons ought to be excluded, who had any *prejudice* in favour of one system of Christianity in preference to another, and our legislators ought to be universal philanthropists, Infidels, or Deists.

[n] See pag. 21.

that they did not wish to put in force the laws against recusants, is placed beyond doubt by expressions used subsequently by Archbishop Ussher, in his speech at the Privy Council, for he there urges all "to refer it unto the sacred heart of his Majesty how far he will be pleased to abridge or extend his favor of whose lenity in forbearing to execute the Statute, our recusants have found such experience, that they cannot expect greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy." In fact, the bishops wanted no more than that the recusants should have the free exercise of their religion as a matter of favor or connivance, not of right; that the legislature should not by any public act give its sanction to a religion which they considered idolatrous. In the age when it occurred, and under the provocations which they had suffered, the exemption from punishment for celebrating the rites of a religion not sanctioned by the State was as much as could be expected, much more than a few years after was granted by the Parliament of England.

The protestation of the bishops had a considerable effect in retarding the project of selling toleration to the Recusants: but as a contribution was absolutely necessary to the success of the King's affairs, Lord Falkland requested the Primate, "in° regard of the great esteem in which he was held by both parties, to declare in a speech to the whole assembly the true state of the kingdom and the necessity of a standing army for the defence thereof against any foreign invasion or intestine commotion, and consequently that a competent supply was needful to be granted for that purpose, and that without any consideration whatsoever as well by the Roman Catholic, as Protestant subjects." The Primate was very ready to undertake this office, as it would remove all suspicion of the purity of his conduct, and prove his affection for the service of the monarch. The Lord Deputy summoned the Assembly at the Council Chamber in Dublin Castle, on the 30th of April, when the Primate delivered the following able speech:

° Parr's Life, pag. 29.

"My Lord,

"The resolution of those Gentlemen in denying to contribute unto the supplying of the army, sent hither for their defence, doth put me in mind of the Philosopher's observation, 'That such as have a respect to a few things, are easily misled:' The present pressure which they sustain by the imposition of the Souldiers, and the desire they have to be eased of that burthen, doth so wholly possess their minds, that they have only an eye to the freeing of themselves from that incumbrance, without looking at all to the desolations, that are like to come upon them by a long and heavy war, which the having of an army in readiness, might be a means to have prevented; the lamentable effects of our last wars in this Kingdom, do yet freshly stick in our memories: neither can we so soon forget the depopulation of our Land, when besides the combustions of war, the extremity of famine grew so great, that the very women in some places by the way side, have surprised the men that rode by, to feed themselves with the flesh of the horse, or the rider: And that now again here is a storm towards, wheresoever it will light, every wise man may easily foresee, which if we be not careful to meet with in time, our State may prove irrecoverable, when it will be too late to think of, Had I wist.

"The dangers that now threaten us, are partly from abroad, and partly from home; abroad, we are now at odds with two of the most potent Princes in Christendom; and to both which, in former times, the discontented persons in this Country have had recourse heretofore, profferring the Kingdom it self unto them, if they would undertake the conquest of it: for it is not unknown unto them that look into the search of those things, that in the days of King Henry the Eighth, the Earl of Desmond made such an offer of this Kingdom to the French King, (the instrument whereof yet remains upon record in the Court of Paris) and the Bishop of Rome afterwards transferred the title of all our Kingdoms unto Charles the Fifth, which by new grants was confirmed unto his Son Philip, in the time of Queen Elizabeth, with a resolution to settle this Crown

upon the Spanish Infanta: Which donations of the Pope's, howsoever in themselves they are of no value, yet will they serve for a fair colour to a potent Pretender, who is able to supply by the power of the sword, whatsoever therein may be thought defective. Hereunto may we add, that of late, in Spain, at the very same time, when the treaty of the match was in hand, there was a book published with great approbation there, by one of this Country birth, Philip O'Sullevan, wherein the Spaniard is taught, that the ready way to establish his Monarchy (for that is the only thing he mainly aimeth at, and is plainly there confessed) is, first to set upon Ireland, which being quickly obtained, the conquest of Scotland, next of England, then of the Low countries, is foretold, with great facility will follow after.

"Neither have we more cause in this regard to be afraid of a foreign invasion, than to be jealous of a domestick rebellion. Where, lest I be mistaken, as your Lordships have been lately, I must of necessity put a difference betwixt the inhabitants of this Nation; some of them are descended of the race of the ancient English, or otherwise hold their Estates from the crown, and have possessions of their own to stick unto, who easily may be trusted against a foreign invader, although they differ from the State in matter of Religion: For proof of which fidelity in this kind, I need go no further than the late wars in the time of the Earl of Tyrone, wherein they were assaulted with as powerful temptations to move them from their loyalty, as possibly hereafter can be presented unto them: For, at that time, not only the King of Spain did confederate himself with the Rebels, and landed his forces here for their assistance, but the Bishop of Rome also, with his Breves, and Bulls, solicited our Nobility, and Gentry, to revolt from their obedience to the Queen, declaring that the English did fight against the Catholick Religion, and ought to be repugned as much as the Turks, imparting the same favours to such as should set upon them, that he doth unto such as fight against the Turks; and finally, promising unto them, that the God of Peace would tread down their

enemies under their feet speedily. And yet for all the Pope's promises, and threatnings, which were also seconded by a declaration of the Divines of Salamanca and Valladolid, not only the Lords and Gentelmen did constantly continue their allegiance unto the Queen, but also were encouraged so to do by the Priests of the Pale, that were of the Popish profession: who were therefore vehemently taxed by the traytor O Sullevan, for exhorting them to follow the Queen's side; which he is pleased to term "Insanam, & venenosam doctrinam, & tartareum dogma; a mad and venemous doctrine, and a hellish opinion." But besides these, there are a great number of Irish, who either bear a secret grudge against the English, planted amongst them, or having nothing at all to lose upon the first occasion, are apt to joyn with any foreign invader; for we have not used that policy in our Plantations, that wise States have used in former times. They, when they settled new Colonies in any place, did commonly translate the ancient inhabitants to other dwellings. We have brought new planters into the land, and have left the old inhabitants to shift for themselves; who being strong in body, and daily increasing in number, and seeing themselves deprived of their means and maintenance, which they and their ancestors have formerly injoyed; will undoubtedly be ready, when occasion is offer'd, to disturb our quiet; whether then we cast our eyes abroad, or look at home, we see our danger is very great.

"Neither may you, My Lords, and Gentlemen, that differ from us in point of Religion, imagine that the community of profession will exempt you, more than us, from the danger of a common enemy. Whatsoever you may expect from a foreigner, you may conjecture by the answer which the Duke of Medina Sidonia gave in this case in 88; That his sword knew no difference between a Catholick and a Heretick, but that he came to make way for his Master: And what kindness you may look for from the countrymen that joyn with them, you may judge, as well by the carriage which they ordinarily use towards you and yours, both in the Court, and in the Colledges abroad, as by the advice not long since presented by them unto the Council

of Spain, wherein they would not have so much as the Irish Priests and Jesuits, that are descended of English blood, to be trusted, but would have you and yours to be accounted enemies to the designs of Spain. In the Declaration published about the beginning of the insurrection of James Fitz-Morice, in the South, the Rebels professed, it was no part of their meaning to subvert "Honorabile Anglorum solium;" their quarrel was only against the person of Queen Elizabeth, and her Government: But now the case is otherwise, the translating of the throne of the English to the power of a Foreigner, is the thing that mainly is intended, and the re-establishing of the Irish in their ancient possessions, which by the valour of our ancestors were gained from them.

"This you may assure your self, manet altâ mente repostum, and makes you more to be hated of them than any other of the English nation whatsoever. The danger thereof being thus common to us all, it stands us upon to joyn our best helps for the avoiding of it; only the manner how this may be effected is in question. It was wont to be said, Iniquum petas, ut æquum feras, and such, perhaps, might be the intent of the project the other day propounded unto you; but now I observe the distaste you have conceived against that hath so far possessed you, that hardly can you be drawn to listen to any equal motion. The exceptions taken against the Project, are partly general, made by all; partly special, that toucheth only some particulars: Of the former there are two, the quantity of the sum demanded, and the indefiniteness of the time, which is unlimited. For the proportion required for the maintenance of 5000 Foot, and 500 Horse, you alledge to be so great, and your means so small, that in undertaking that which you are no ways able to perform, you shall but delude his Majesty, and disappoint the army of their expected pay. And although the sum required were far less, and for a time able to be born by you; yet are you fearful that the payment, being continued for some number of years, may afterwards be continued as a constant revenue to his Majesties Exchequer, with which perpetual burden you are unwilling to charge your posterity.

"The exceptions of the second kind, are taken against the Grants annexed unto the former demands: the granting whereof seemed rather to hinder than further the service, as not so agreeing with the rules of equity. For first, some have the full benefits of the grants, and have their charge little augmented, as the countries which pay composition-rents, which by those grants during the time of the new payments are suspended. Secondly, others that have the charge of the payment imposed upon them to the full, are not partakers at all of the benefit of the grants, as the British planted in the six escheated counties of Ulster. Thirdly, such as are the most forward to further his Majesties Service; and to contribute with the most, are troubled in conscience for yielding thereto upon the terms proposed, especially for that condition, whereby the execution of the Statute against Recusants is offer'd to be forborn.

"Wherein, if some of my Brethren, the Bishops, have been thought to have shewed themselves more forward than wise, in preaching publickly against this kind of toleration; I hope the great charge laid upon them by your selves in the Parliament, wherein that Statute was inacted, will plead their excuse. For there, the Lords Temporal, and all the Commons, do in God's name earnestly require and charge all Arch-Bishops and Bishops, and other Ordinaries, that they shall endeavour themselves, to the utmost of their knowledge, that the due and true execution of this Statute may be had throughout their dioceses; and charged, as they will answer it before God, for such evils and plagues as Almighty God might justly punish his people, for neglecting these good and wholesome laws. So that if in this case they had holden their tongues, they might have been censured little better than atheists, and made themselves accessary to the drawing down of God's heavy vengeance upon the people.

"But if, for these and such like causes, the former project will not be admitted, we must not therefore think our selves discharged from taking farther care to provide for our safeties. Other consultations must be had, and other courses thought upon, which need not be liable to the like

exceptions. Where the burden is born in common, and the aid required to be given to the Prince by his subjects that are of different judgments in religion; it stands not with the ground of common reason, that such a condition should be annexed unto the gift, as must of necessity deter the one party from giving at all, upon such terms as are repugnant to their consciences. As therefore on the one side, if we desire that the Recusants should joyn with us in granting a common aid; we should not put in the condition of executing the Statute, which we are sure they would not yield unto; so on the other side, if they will have us to joyn with them in the like contribution, they should not require the condition of suspending the Statute to be added, which we in conscience cannot yield unto. The way will be then freely to grant unto his Majesty, what we give, without all manner of condition that may seem unequal unto any side, and to refer unto his own Sacred Breast, how far he will be pleased to extend or abridge his favours: of whose lenity, in forbearing the executing of the Statute, our Recusants have found such experience, that they cannot expect a greater liberty, by giving any thing that is demanded, than now already they do freely enjoy.

"As for the fear, that this voluntary contribution may in time be made a matter of necessity, and imposed as a perpetual charge upon posterity, it may easily be holpen with such a clause as we find added in the grant of an aid made by the Pope's Council, Anno 11 Hen. 3, out of the Ecclesiastical profits of this Land, Quod non debet trahi in consuetudinem, of which kinds of grants, many other examples of later memory might be produced: And as for the proportion of the sum, which you thought to be so great in the former proposition, it is my Lord's desire, that you should signifie unto him, what you think you are well able to bear, and what your selves will be content voluntarily to proffer. To alledge, as you have done, that you are not able to bear so great a charge as was demanded, may stand with some reason; but to plead an unability to give any thing at all, is neither agreeable to reason or duty.

"You say, you are ready to serve the King, as your

ancestors did heretofore, with your bodies, and lives, as if the supply of the King's wants with monies, were a thing unknown to our Fore-fathers. But if you will search the Pipe-Rolls, you shall find the names of those who contributed to King Henry the Third, for a matter that did less concern the subjects of this Kingdom, than the help that is now demanded, namely, for the marrying of his Sister to the Emperour. In the Records of the same King, kept in England, we find his Letters Patents directed hither into Ireland, for levying of money to help to pay his debts, unto Lewis the Son of the King of France. In the Rolls of Gascony, we find the like letter directed by King Edward the Second, unto the gentlemen, and merchants of Ireland, of whose names there is a list there set down, to give him aid in his expedition into Aquitaine, and for defence of his Land (which is now the thing in question.) We find an ordinance likewise made in the time of Edward the Third, for the personal taxing of them that lived in England, and held lands and tenements in Ireland.

" Nay, in this case you must give me leave, as a Divine, to tell you plainly, that to supply the King means, for the necessary defence of your Country, is not a thing left to your own discretion, either to do, or not to do, but a matter of duty, which in conscience you stand bound to perform. The Apostle, Rom. 13. having affirmed, That we must be subject to the higher powers, not only for wrath, but for conscience sake, adds this as a reason to confirm it; For for this cause you pay tribute also, as if the denying such payment, could not stand with a conscionable subjection: thereupon he infers this conclusion, Render therefore to all their due, tribute to whom tribute, custom to whom custom is due; agreeable to that known lesson which he had learned of our Saviour, Render[p] unto Cæsar the things which are Cæsar's, and unto God the things which are God's: where you may observe, as to with-hold from God the things which are God's, man is said to be a robber[q] of God; whereof he himself thus complaineth in the case of

[p] Matth. chap. xxii. ver. 21. [q] Mal. chap. iii. ver. 8.

affairs in the College, and this explanation is confirmed by the fact, that Archbishop Ussher recommended others. When the Senior Fellows elected the learned Joseph Mede, they stated that he was one of the persons named by Archbishop Ussher. The Junior Fellows elected Dr. Robert Ussher, son to Primate Henry Ussher, and formerly a Fellow, and he was actually sworn in Provost. However, the Senior Fellows persevered in their election, and sent over a deputation to Cambridge, requesting Mede to accept the office; but this he declined, assigning as his reasons "the great difference accompanying their election and the inconveniences that he saw must follow thereupon."

Upon the refusal of Mr. Mede, the Senior Fellows elected Mr. Bedell. Although the right of election was at that time vested in the Fellows, yet it appears that the King, the Chancellor, and Vice-Chancellor, had but little regard to the chartered rights of the Fellows[u], or considered that they had only a right of election after a nomination, which is a mere nullity. The entry in the College Registry is as follows: "May 30. Mr. William Bedell a batchelor of Theology of Emanuel College in Cambridge was promoted to the place by the King's Majesty's mandat: our most Reverend Chancellors letters of recommendation, our Vice-Chancellor the Lord Primate of Ireland, Dr. James Ussher, approving of him; was admitted and chosen by the unanimous consent of the Fellowes the xvith of August." Bedell's reluctance to accept the Provostship was overcome by the advice of the Primate, and he set out for Dublin. His diary is still preserved in the first Registry book of Trinity College, and in it is described his arrival in Dublin, and his setting out the next day on horseback to visit the Primate at Termonfechen, near Drogheda, where most of the Fellows were assembled to meet him. The first act of the Primate to the

[u] This practice of interference continued also in the election of Bedell's successor. Nor was the interference confined to the Provostship. There is an official letter, in 1634, recommending, or commanding, the College to return Sir James Ware and James Donnellan as burgesses; and the mandates to appoint Fellows, contrary to the provisions of the Statutes, are numerous.

new Provost, was placing under his care a lately converted Roman Catholic priest, Mr. O Fary[v].

These public and embarrassing duties did not divert the Primate's attention from the interests of literature, or from augmenting his library with manuscripts as well as printed works. To the MSS. in the East he looked particularly for assistance in his Biblical researches, and he found an able agent in Mr. Davies, who was settled at Aleppo, as chaplain to the English merchants residing there. Among the treasures procured by Mr. Davies were several copies of the Samaritan Pentateuch, and the Syriac version of the Old Testament. The Archbishop says, in a letter to Capellus: "Samaritanam[w] Pentateuchi editionem vel primus vel certe inter primos nostris temporibus in occidentem ipse intuli." With indefatigable diligence he collated the various readings of the Hebrew and Samaritan copies, and would have published them, had he not found it impossible to find a bookseller who would undertake the work. However, at the request of Selden, he transcribed, for his Marmora Arundeliana, those parts of the fifth and eleventh chapters of Genesis which contain the genealogies of the Patriarchs, and accompanied the copy with a very learned letter[x], in which he examines the Samaritan chronology, as published by Scaliger, and comments upon the remarks of Julius Africanus, Eusebius Cæsariensis, and Georgius Syncellus. Selden, in his preface, acknowledges his obligations to the Primate in very strong terms: "Codicem vero[y], qui hæc nobis suppeditavit Samaritanum magnis impensis ante quadriennium aut circiter ex oriente sibi comparavit reverendissimus antistes, Jacobus Usserius, archiepiscopus Armachanus, vir summa pietate, judicio singulari, usque ad miraculum doctus et literis severioribus promovendis natus. Mecum exemplar quod vetustius est et charactere Samaritano, scilicet vetus-

[v] In Bedell's Registry is the following entry: "Mr. O Fary desired a chamber, and had liberty to keep in y^t wch belongs to the Provost at ye staire foot."

[w] See Letter 295, vol. xvi. pag. 219. It is probable that the first copy was introduced into Europe by Pietro della Valle.

[x] Letter 127, vol. xv. pag. 380. [y] Selden, op. tom. ii. pag. 1445.

tissimo et Ebræis in usu ante Esdræ tempora, descriptum, pro humanitate sua, cui plurimum me debere semper agnosco, in Anglia circa id tempus communicavit. In Hiberniam secum postmodum transvexit, priusquam iis quæ volui inde exscribere adversaria mea ditassem. Literis igitur nuper rogatus, eas capitum v. et. xi. Geneseos partes quæ patriarcharum tempora designant, ex eodem ad me ex Hibernia transmisit exscriptas, seu potius accuratissime depictas. Nam ut ipsissimi characterum apices ubique repræsentarentur curavit, quod charta oleo perlita, quæ facilem exscribenti operam efficeret, præstitum est." The copy from which these extracts were given, was presented by the Archbishop to the library of Sir Robert Cotton, with the following inscription:

> "Pentateuchum Samaritanum a decem tribuum reliquiis, post regni Israelitici excidium, primo acceptum, a Dositheo Samaritarum pseudo-propheta, temporibus Apostolorum postea interpolatum, ab Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus Eusebio, Diodoro, Hieronymo, Cyrillo, Procopio, Anespero, Georgio Chronographo identidem citatum, atque a Cuthæis hodiernis demum redemptum, Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ, quæ amicissimi Domini summa humanitate semper mihi patuit,
>
> "L. M. D.
>
> "Jacobus Usserius
>
> "Armachanus, Hiberniæ Primas."

There is also the following memorandum in the Archbishop's handwriting:

> "Ex librarii notatione ad calcem Geneseos colligimus exemplar hoc sexcentis siclis argenteis (h. e. libris Anglicanis 75) emptum fuisse mense Rabi anni 792. regni Ismaelis, circa Martium viz. mensem anni æræ Christianæ 1390.
>
> "Jacobus Armachanus."

Two other copies were presented by the Archbishop, one to Archbishop Laud, and the other to Ludovicus de Dieu. On the copy presented to Archbishop Laud, and now deposited in the Bodleian Library, is written:

"Pentateuchum hoc Samaritanum, in principio et fine mutilatum, antiquissimis Phœnicum literis descriptum, ab Ecclesiasticis scriptoribus Eusebio, Diodoro Tarsensi, Hieronymo, Cyrillo, Procopio, Gazæo, Georgio Syncello et aliis sæpius est citatum, a Cuthæis vero hodiernis una cum aliis aliquot eorum monumentis redemit

"JACOBUS USSERIUS Armachanus
"Hiberniæ Primas."

Underneath Archbishop Laud has written:

"Qui librum hunc mihi dono dedit.
"W. CANT."

In the end of the book is the following memorandum:

"Folia postrema hæc sex jussu reverendissimi præsulis Gulielmi Laud Archiepiscopi Cantuarensis descripta sunt ex vetusto, eoque integro, Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ exemplari: quod anno Ismaelitarum, sive Hegiræ Mahommedanæ DCLXIV. id est, salutis reparatæ, A. MCCCLXII. junctis operis in Oriente exararunt Ithamar ben Aharon atque Abraham ben Abi Nitzaion, nomine seu auspiciis Semoki Tobi Isaak, ben Semoki Selomoh, ben Jacob, ex familia Isburiana, summo in agro Damasceno principatu insigni: sic Abraham ille ad Numerorum calcem in memorato exemplari subnotavit."

De Dieu uses the strongest language to express his sense of the favour conferred upon him. He speaks of a Syrian manuscript given him "ab[z] ornatissimo, doctissimo, et æterna memoria digno Præsule, Jacobo Usserio Archiepiscopo Armachano, qui et ante biennium me Pentateucho Samaritano beaverat." In two letters[a], written to De Dieu, the Archbishop gives an account of the different manuscripts which he had obtained from the East, and he subsequently lent them to Bishop Walton, for the edition of the Polyglott Bible which he was preparing. The Archbishop

[z] Ludov. de Dieu, Comment. in quatuor Evangelia, Præf.

[a] See Letters 186 and 190, vol. xv. pag. 555, 567.

at this time was meditating an edition of the Syriac version of the Old Testament, and sent a person into Holland for the purpose of purchasing types fit for the work: no account is given of the cause which induced him to give up so important an undertaking.

In the year 1628[b] commenced the correspondence between the Archbishop and Laud, then Bishop of London, which was kept up without interruption for twelve years, and only terminated by the unfortunate calamities of the country. It is quite evident that Ussher had no suspicion of his illustrious correspondent entertaining any affection for the doctrines of Popery, and his exertions to make him Chancellor of the University of Dublin prove incontestably that he regarded him as the fittest person to support the Protestant University, and with it the cause of Protestantism in Ireland. On the other hand, the terms in which Archbishop Laud speaks of Ussher, afford sufficient evidence that he was not the Puritan which the enemies of our Church represent him to have been, and that if he did not enforce the discipline of the Church, it was not from want of affection for its ordinances, but from the gentleness of his nature, which rendered him unwilling to inflict punishment.

The next year commences with an extraordinary demand upon the Archbishop to exert his authority in civil matters, and gives a curious specimen of the state of Ireland at that period. The declaration of the Bishops, of which an account has been given before, and the still more annoying remonstrance of the English House of Commons to the King, "that the Popish religion was publicly professed in every part of Ireland: and that monasteries and nunneries were there newly erected and replenished with votaries of both sexes, which would be of evil consequence, unless seasonably repressed," were not sufficient to prevent the success of the Recusants in obtaining favours from the Crown. In despite of public clamour and suspicion, the Irish agents proceeded to London, and made an offer to the

[b] In the Diary of Provost Bedell it is recorded, that on the 28th of December in this year, the Primate dined in the College Hall.

King of a voluntary contribution of one hundred and twenty thousand pounds, to be paid in three years. The graces which they solicited in return for this extraordinary exertion of loyalty, were in some instances favourable to Recusants, but in general were calculated for the redress of grievances which persons of all denominations experienced, and had an obvious tendency to promote the peace and prosperity of the country. The bounty was accepted, the graces were conferred, and were transmitted, by way of instructions, to the Lord Deputy and Council. The articles in these instructions were very numerous: perhaps the most important was that for the security of all proprietors; their several estates were to be confirmed to them and their heirs by the next Parliament to be holden in Ireland, and also an Act was to be passed for a free and general pardon, in order to remove the apprehensions of every one throughout the realm. In these instructions the sincerity of the King is at least doubtful, for he took no legal steps[c] to summon a Parliament: however, the people relied on the royal promise, and the concessions were considered as fully granted,

[c] In the instructions the King fixed the third day of the succeeding month of November, as the time when he intended the Parliament should be holden. Lord Falkland, without attending to any further circumstances of formality, issued writs of summons for an Irish Parliament to meet on the day named by the King. The impropriety of this proceeding was obvious: by the law of Poynings, a certificate of causes and considerations, by the Lord Deputy and Council, was previously necessary, before the King's license could be transmitted for holding a Parliament in that kingdom. The Council Board of England soon discovered and censured an omission so essential. The matter was referred to the Judges, who pronounced the present writs of summons illegal and void. It seems extraordinary that the King and his Ministers could have been ignorant of the legal method of proceeding on this occasion: or if that careless inattention to the affairs of Ireland, which sometimes prevails in England in times the most composed, betrayed them into error in those days of agitation, it is still more extraordinary that the Deputy and Council of Ireland should have been equally ignorant and erroneous. But whether the irregularity were casual or premeditated, nothing could have been corrected more easily and readily, if Charles had been sincerely disposed to give effectual relief and satisfaction to his Irish subjects. Yet no new writs were issued, or any new time assigned for a legal and regular convention of the Irish Parliament.—Leland, vol. ii. pag. 487.

because an Act of State, though not confirmed by Parliamentary sanction, had usually great authority in Ireland; but before any suspicion of sincerity was excited, these graces produced discontent and divisions. All submitted cheerfully to the contribution, which was the price of the favours conferred, but the Recusants assumed to themselves the whole merit, and disregarded the Protestants, who paid above a third part of the public charge; they professed the greatest loyalty, but secretly exulted in the persuasion, that the authority of the Crown in Ireland could not be supported without their assistance, and, urged on by their ecclesiastics, proceeded to the most imprudent excesses. They celebrated their religious worship with public solemnity, and with the full parade of their ostentatious ritual. They seized churches for their service, avowedly and severely executed their ecclesiastical jurisdiction, erected everywhere new monasteries, and even in the city of Dublin established a college for the education of their youth, under the superintendence of a distinguished ecclesiastic.

The Protestants, galled by these intemperate proceedings, urged upon the Lord Deputy the necessity of interference. Lord Falkland, indisposed to severity from his natural disposition, and instructed by the English Government to display the greatest moderation in religious matters, was at length compelled to issue a proclamation, importing that "the late intermission of legal proceedings, against Popish pretended titular Archbishops, Bishops, Abbots, Deans, Vicars-general, Jesuits, Friars, and others, deriving their pretended authority from the see of Rome, in contempt of his Majesty's royal power and authority, had had such an extravagant insolence and presumption in them, that he was necessitated to charge and command them, in his Majesty's name, to forbear the exercise of their Popish rites and ceremonies." This proclamation was not treated even with the common respect due to an Act of State. At Drogheda it was received with peculiar marks of contempt, as appears from a letter of the Lord Deputy to Archbishop Ussher, in which he states: "I have received information both of the unreverend manner of publishing the late pro-

clamation at Drogheda, and the ill observance of the same since it was published. For the first, that it was done in scornful and contemptuous sort, a drunken soldier being first set up to read it, and then a drunken serjeant of the town; both being made by too much drink incapable of that task (and perhaps purposely put to it), made the same seem like a May game. And for the latter, that there is yet very little obedience shewed thereto by the Friers and Priests; only that they have shut up the foredoor of some of their mass houses; but have as ordinary recourse thither by their private passages, and do as frequently use their superstitious services there, as if there were no command to the contrary; those mass houses being continued in their former use (though perhaps a little more privately) without any demolishing of their altars, &c." The Lord Deputy then complains, in very strong terms, of the Archbishop not having given him information of the proceedings at Drogheda, and censures him for his neglect of duty as a Privy Counsellor. He concludes by calling upon him to take the assistance of Mr. Justice Philpot, and inquire into the circumstances of the case.

Archbishop Ussher appears to have been justly offended with this letter, and the Lord Deputy sent him an apology, protesting he did not intend to give his Grace any cause of discontent, and blaming his Secretary. It seems strange, indeed that the Lord Deputy should not require his information from the commander of the garrison at Drogheda, rather than from the Archbishop; more particularly, as the Archbishop had just been visited by a severe domestic calamity, in the sudden death of his learned and excellent brother, Ambrose Ussher[d]. A few days after, a

[d] Ambrose Ussher, the only brother of the Archbishop, was educated for a short time at Cambridge, and then became a Scholar and Fellow of Trinity College, Dublin. His literary attainments were very considerable, particularly in the Eastern languages. The very learned William Eyre mentions him with great respect, in a letter to the Archbishop. "Interea vero loci agnosco me valde obæratum esse et tibi et doctissimo fratri tuo Ambrosio, qui peritissima manu sua quædam in meum usum ex Alcorano Arabice exscripsit."—*Epist.* 4. vol. xv. pag. 21. He died in March, 162§. The only work he published was, A brief Catechism, very

letter of thanks was sent to the Archbishop from the Lord Deputy and Council, for his exertions in investigating some irregular proceedings charged against the titular Bishop of Raphoe, and for ascertaining the proprietors of the conventual houses in that town. They inform His Grace that they had given directions to His Majesty's Attorney-General, "to put up informations in His Majesty's Court of Exchequer against the proprietors and possessors of the houses, that thereby may be made for such further cause of proceeding as the several cases shall require."

On the 13th of September, 1629, Archbishop Ussher consecrated, at St. Peter's, Drogheda, the learned and ex-

well serving for the instruction of youth, published without date. There is a large collection of his works, in manuscript, preserved in the library of Trinity College. The most considerable work was a translation of the Bible into English, with a dedication to James I. It is supposed that this was not printed, in consequence of the translation undertaken by direction of the King. The other works are:

Disputationes contra Bellarminum de Capitibus Fidei cum Synagoga Romana controversis. 4 tom. fol.

An Arabic Dictionary and Grammar.

Sermons on Luke, xvii. 16, Rom. x. 17; on perfect Reformation, preached before the State; on Psalm cxix. 60, against delaying Repentance.

Sermons on Matt. xi. 28, 29, 30; Psalm lxxxii. 7; Luke, x. 20.

Notæ in Evangelium S. Matthæi.

Exposition of the four first Chapters of St. Matthew.

Summaria Religionis Christianæ Methodus.

The beginning of a work entitled, The greater Catechism.

Theologia seu Corpus Theologiæ positivæ cum Catena S. Scripturæ.

Miscellanea Theologica.

The Reducing of Scripture Doctrine to the Use of the Conscience.

An Exposition of St. Paul's Epistle to Philemon.

The Examples of Holy Scripture unfolded.

Loca in quibus Arabica Geneseos translatio ab Interpretatione LXX. recedit vel in quibus ab ea cum fonte Hebræa discrepat.

Loca in quibus Arabica Evangelia differunt a Vulgata Lectione.

Apocalypsis S. Johannis Hebraice.

A Discourse on Acts, xxiii. 1, 2, 3.

Texts of Scripture to illustrate those two Articles of the Creed concerning the Holy Ghost and the Catholic Church.

Various Forms of Prayer, and several Forms of Blessing, collected from the Liturgy and the Holy Scriptures.

The Principles of Religion explained in English, Greek, Latin, and Hebrew.

The Foundation of the Christian Religion gathered into six Principles.

emplary Dr. Bedell[e], Bishop of Kilmore and Ardagh: the assisting bishops were Robert Bishop of Down and Connor, Theophilus Bishop of Dromore, and James Bishop of Clogher. This appointment appears to have been made at the request of the Bishop of London (Laud), who, in one of his letters to Archbishop Ussher, expresses great satisfaction that "Mr. Bedells preferment gives your Grace

Important Considerations about Popery, collected from different Places.

Confutatio Errorum Ecclesiæ Romanæ.

Libri 4. de sacra Eucharistia, et Libri duo contra Papistas.

Translation of the cxlv. cxlvii. cxlviii. cl. Psalms.

Sermons on Matthew xi. 28, 33, 41, with miscellaneous Observations on other Matters.

Notæ in Aratum Solensem, Martialem, Ovidii Epistolas, Elegias, Librum de Arte Amandi, &c. pro illustranda Sacra Scriptura.

Notæ in Nicandrum, Plautum, Catullum, Tibullum, Propertium, Græcos Autores, Titum Andronicum, Ennium, Nævium, M. Pacuvium, L. Accium, Annæum Senecam, Manilium, Petronium Arbitrum, pro illustranda S. Scriptura.

Notæ in Pindari Carmina.

Excerpta ex Prospero Aquitanico Episcopo Regiensi.

Of the Kingdom of Great Britain, or a Discourse on the Question of Scotland's Union with England, shewing, 1st. What the Union is; 2dly. Reasons enforcing the Union; 3dly. The supposed Enormities from the Union answered.

Laus Astronomiæ.

De Usu Sphæræ, cum Numero Constellationum.

[e] Mr. Mason, in his Life of Bishop Bedell, has described the Fellows at this period "as factious and uncivilized;" and adds, "that it is scarcely to be wondered at, that his gentle spirit should shrink from the certain tempest." That disturbances had arisen in the College, nay, that there never had been peace within its walls, is very certain: but that this was the consequence of the misrule, to which the Fellows had been subjected from the first opening of the College, will appear from the following letter addressed to the Provost, which places them in a very favourable point of view, and proves that they fully appreciated the value of his services:

"To the Revd. and worshipful William Bedell, D. D., and Provost of T. Coll. near Dublin these give. At Horminger, near St. Edmonds Bury in Suffolk.

"Rev. and Worshipful Sir,—Our earnest desire of your speedy return and present residence in the College, as the present condition doth require, doth enforce us to solicit and importune you, as well by letters as by this speciall messenger, to hasten your journey towards us. The College affairs and welfare, as depending upon your providence and care in all actions and government thereof, doth require your presence and care more and more. In the time of your absence you know there can be no

such contentment." The Fellows of Trinity College were obliged to petition the King, that they might be allowed

lawful admission of students unto this society without your authority and approbation: there can be no conferring of degrees either in the College or University: no election of Fellows or Scholars, no distribution of chambers to such as will resort hither in expectation of your admission. The Fellows are not to proceed against any parties in matters of law without consent of the Provost, for no pleadings in their name can be effectual, and without such course and order the College is like to suffer at their hands this next Term, who have any controversy with it for lands or rents. It is to be considered that the tenants being backward to pay their rents will take occasion to delay their payments, as appeareth by their words and actions in some part since your departure, alledging that no discharge can secure them in the absence of the Provost, and that the power and authority of the Fellows is no sufficient warrant in his absence for their security from future troubles. Some reports have possessed very many in this kingdom that you intend to resign your place of Provost in this College, and to continue your residence in England, which reports, as we hope, are most untrue, and such thoughts are far from your heart, whose zeal and affection doth aim above all things at the glory of God and the good of his Church, both which you cannot any where so much as in this kingdom further and advance, if it please you to continue and persist in your former zealous and godly resolutions: as we know no man so worthy of this government as yourself, so our affection and duty do ever according to your deserts prefer you before all others. Your first endeavours amongst us do assure us of prosperous success in the godly education of the students of this society, and pronounce much future happiness to arise to this Church and Commonwealth, by your longer residence and godly labours. We beseech you that neither expectation of altering the College charter or effecting any other matter at Court may delay your return. The words of discontented men and ignorant relations of some others ought not to divert wise men from their prudent and honest determination, which, we assure us, will be truly verified in you. Mr. John Floyd is departed hence for England without consent or notice of the Fellows: as his attempts have formerly proved, his labours are to hinder the good of this College by his pragmatical and sinister plots. His allegations to you we desire you to refer to full trial at your return. He hath formerly showed himself as ready to deny as to affirm the same things. We desire you as for the glory of God, so for the perpetual good of the College, to persist constant in your desire to advance this society by your presidence and residence therein: there is no place nor people that love you better or more willing and careful to encrease your means. The part of the lecture at Christ Church, which became void by Mr. Parry's departure, is conferred on you: and there is good hope that the benefice of the Treasurership of St. Patrick's Church will shortly devolve unto you, which is compatible with your place in the College as the opinion is of those that know that living best. The more ample relation of these and all other passages we refer to Mr. Travers,

to exercise their chartered right of electing a Provost, and, by the advice[f] of the Bishop of London, the King "leaves

who from us is to inform you of all occurrences and particulars according to our common directions. Your present return or letters must settle us and all others concerning the truth of these forementioned reports, and of your intentions and resolutions in this behalf, both which we expect and daily wish for, beseeching God to direct and bless unto you and us all our designs and actions, that they may tend to his glory, the welfare of his Church and the good of this College, which cannot well consist with any credit without the presence of her Provost, as her chiefest Governor, Protector, and Preserver. These our relations and hearty requests of your return and presence we recommend with the dutiful remembrance of our duties and best affections unto you: and continue in all service and love, most willing and desirous to procure a further encrease and continuance of all happiness unto you, as your most affectionate and truly loving well wishers

NATH. LYNCH. JOHN JOHNSON. JOSEPH TRAVERS.
DAVID THOMAS. WM FITZGERALD.

"Trin. Coll. Dublin, 28 April, 1628."

It appears also from the following document, that the Fellows had not confined themselves to mere expressions of good will, but had exerted all their influence to procure for their Provost the office of Lecturer at Christ Church:

"To the Rt. Honble the Lord Deputy, the humble petition of the Vice Provost, Fellows and Scholars of Trin. Coll. near Dublin.

"Humbly representing, that whereas there was a concordatum of £40 st. yearly granted unto the said College in anno 1599 for the keeping of a public and standing lecture unto the State: which £40 st. was in the year following by letters patents confirmed unto this College for ever to the use abovementioned, as likewise for the better maintenance of the Provost, and hath accordingly been paid unto the said College from time to time until of late years the Provost and Fellows left it in your Lordships disposal. Now in regard our grant thereof is good as confirmed unto us by Letters Patents as may appear, and that we have lately drawn over a worthy and able man as well in the general for the public good and service of the Church, as in particular of this Society, to less means than he enjoyed in his own country: it may therefore please your Lordship that for the better maintenance of our said Provost, who is desirous to undertake a part of that charge in the Cathedral, the said £40 st. per annum, may be continued and paid unto the College, as it hath formerly been, the grounds and reasons remaining the same at this present, upon which these payments have been made in former times. And they shall ever pray, &c. &c."

[f] However Bishop Laud might have given this advice, and thus have principally contributed to the election of Dr. Robert Ussher, his real intentions appear from a letter addressed to Lord Strafford. He writes thus: "When the Bishop of Kilmore was preferred from that government,

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them to their freedom[s], so as they did choose such a man as would be serviceable to the Church and him." The choice

I was resolved to make the Dean of Cashel that now is (William Chappel) his successor; and tho my Lord Primate writ very earnestly for a native and his kingsman that now is Provost, with assurance of his sufficiency (yet now his Grace writes to me that the Provost is too weak for the government, and the Statutes too), and tho two of the fellows came over and petitioned his Majesty, yet all this should hardly have taken me off, had not the Dean of Cashel at that time absolutely refused me, and if now your Lordship think him as fit for the place as I do, I will join with you for the preferring the present Provost, and to be revenged of his former refusal put in the Dean of Cashel, always provided that for his better encouragement he may hold the deanery."—See Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 213.

[s] The proceedings in this business where the King professed his willingness to comply, will shew in what manner rights founded on royal charters were considered in those days, and how lightly they were treated by the King and his ministers. When the King announced his intention of appointing the Provost to the bishoprics of Kilmore and Ardagh, the Lord Deputy sent the following letter to the Fellows:

"After our hearty commendations. The enclosed is extracted out of his Majesty's letter unto us of the 16 of last month; for conferring of the Bishopricks of Kilmore and Ardagh upon Mr. Bedell now Provost of that College. By it you shall discern his Majesty's royal care of your Society and of the property thereof, and to that end his pleasure expressed touching your forbearance to proceed to the election of another Provost, until his resolution be signified, which we require you to observe accordingly. So we bid you heartily farewell. From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin, 13 May 1629.

"Your very loving friend,

"HENRY FALKLAND.

"'Extract.

"'And as we were pleased by our former gracious letters to establish the said William Bedell by our Royal authority in the Provostship of the said College of the blessed Trinity near Dublin: where we are informed that by his care and good government there hath been wrought great reformation, to our singular contentment; so we purpose to continue our said care of that Society being the principal nursery of religion and learning in that our Realm, and recommend unto the College some such person from whom we may expect the like worthy effects for their good as we and they have found from Mr. Bedell. This we would have you signify to the end that they may not proceed to make their election of another Provost, until they shall understand our further resolution: which shall be guided by no other reason or motive but what regards their prosperity which we exceedingly affect. Neither do we purpose to make this a precedent to deprive them of any liberty granted them by their charter.

"'Dated 16 April, 1629, &c.'"

fell upon Dr. Robert Ussher, the individual elected by the junior Fellows on the former vacancy.

"At the Court of Greenwich, the 18 of June, 1629.

"His Majesty being graciously pleased to allow to the Fellows and College of Dublin the liberty of election of a Provost according to their privilege, doth notwithstanding out of his princely care to have that place well supplied, require the Fellows of that College before they admit the person they shall so elect, to advertise his Majesty of their choice; and to this effect the clerk of the signet now attending is to prepare such a letter or warrant as is agreeable for his Majesty's signature.

"DORCHESTER."

"June 26, 1629.

"I think it fit that a letter be prepared for his Majesty's signature to the Lord Deputy to give order accordingly to the College at Dublin to proceed to an election, after that my Lord Primate of Armagh hath certified his judgment of Dr. Ussher.

"GUL. LONDON."

"CHARLES REX.

"To our right trusty and right well beloved Cousin and Counsellor Henry Viscount Falkland, Lord Deputy of our Realm of Ireland.

"Right trusty and right well beloved Counsellor we greet you well. Whereas the Fellows of the College of the blessed Trinity near Dublin in that our realm of Ireland have nominated unto us for sufficiency in learning and other abilities one Robert Ussher Doctor of Divinity as a fit man to be their Provost; we therefore at the nomination of the said Fellows, in our princely disposition being desirous that a meet personage should be preferred thereunto, are graciously pleased to condescend thus far unto them for their humble request herein, viz. that they shall proceed to an election of the said Dr. Ussher to be their Provost of the said College. Wherefore we do hereby will and command you, upon receipt of these our letters to permit and suffer the said Fellows to proceed to an election of the said Dr. Ussher accordingly, any former inhibition or restraint to the contrary notwithstanding. Nevertheless our express will and pleasure is, and we do by these presents require you to take special care that the said Dr. Ussher be not after their election thereunto admitted, until we shall hereafter by our other letters signify unto you, that we have received from the Lord Primate of Armagh a certificate of his judgment and approbation of the said Dr. Ussher's fitness for that place. And for so doing these our letters shall be your sufficient warrant and discharge in that behalf.

"Given under our Signet at our Palace of Westminster the 29th day of June in the 5th year of our reign."

Next follows the letter of the Lords Justices for the admission of Dr. Ussher:

"After our hearty commendations. By letters from the late Lord Deputy dated the 3rd of August last grounded on his Majestys letters of

It seems extraordinary that no mention is made of Mede, who had been elected by the senior Fellows on the former vacancy. Mr. Francis Burnet applied to Mede, to know[h] if he would accept the place of Provost, which was now about to be vacant, and to which he had been formerly nominated by Archbishop Ussher. Most probably Mede's regard for the Primate, and his knowledge of the relationship between his Grace and Robert Ussher, prevented him from accepting the proposal; this supposition is confirmed by a passage in a letter which he wrote to the Archbishop after the appointment was filled up: he states[i] in it, that though at first he had not given a positive refusal, yet afterwards he had prevented Sir Nathaniel Rich from applying to the King to get him nominated. In Bishop Laud's letter of June 25 we find him mentioning "that Lord Dorchester had desired the Fellows to recommend two persons to his Majesty for the office, that choice might

the 16th of April you were permitted to proceed to the election of Dr. obert Ussher to be Provost of that College, with directions not to admit him, until his Majestys further pleasure signified therein, which election we are informed you have made accordingly; and in obedience to the said directions issued unto you have forborne to admit him. Now forasmuch as his Majesty by his letters of the 15th of November last, hath declared his royal approbation of the said election, we have therefore thought fit to signify to you his gracious pleasure; that you may (according to the privilege given you by your charter) proceed to a free admission, confirmation and settling of the said Dr. Robert Ussher into the place of Provost of that Society, and unto all rights and profits thereunto belonging and enjoyed by the former Provosts there; and this being to no other end, we bid you heartily farewell. From his Majesty's Castle of Dublin 13 Jan. 1629.

"Your very loving friends
"Ad. Loftus Canc. } Justiciarii."
"Richard Cooke, }

When the admission was completed, the College was compelled to pay for the King's Letter permitting them to admit the Provost. So narrow were the means they possessed, that the demand for ten pounds caused considerable inconvenience to them, and was with difficulty discharged. It seems scarcely credible, that while it was allowed to have a Provost elected under the privileges of the original charter, there should at the same time be introduced a charge upon them for the royal interference in their election.

[h] Mede's Works, pag 782. [i] Ibid. pag. 783.

be made between them:" a measure which they did not think proper to adopt. These two persons may, perhaps, have been Robert Ussher and Joseph Mede.

Upon this occasion the King was pleased to pay a very high compliment to Archbishop Ussher, for he commanded the Bishop of London (Laud) to inquire from him, what was his knowledge and judgment of the worth and fitness of Dr. Ussher for this place, setting all kindred and affection aside: "and upon that certificate of yours the King will leave them to all freedom of their choice, or confirm it if made." Archbishop Ussher answered that appeal in the following words: "Dr. Ussher is indeed my cousin-german, but withal the son of that Father, at whose instance, charge and travel the charter of the first foundation of the Colledge was first obtained from Queen Elizabeth, which peradventure may make him somewhat the more to be observed by that society. To his learning, honesty and conformity unto the discipline of our Church no man, I suppose, will take exception: and of his ability in government he hath given some proof already, while he was Vice Provost in that house; where his care in preventing the renewal of the leases at that time was such, that thereby we have been now enabled so to order the matter, that within these six years the College rents shall be advanced well nigh to the double value they have been. Whereunto I will add this much more, that I know he sincerely intendeth the good of his country, meaneth to go on where Dr. Bedell hath left; and in his proceedings will order himself wholly according as your Lordship shall be pleased to direct him. Which if it may prove an inducement to move his Majesty to confirm his election; I shall hold myself strongly engaged thereby to have a special eye to the government of that College: seeing the miscarriage of any thing therein cannot but in some sort reflect upon myself, who would rather lose my life, than not answer the trust reposed in me by my Sovereign." Dr. Ussher was confirmed in the office of Provost, but by no means answered the expectations that the Archbishop formed of him.

The Primate received in the kindest spirit the apology

of the Lord Deputy already alluded to, and determined to pay him every respect on his unjust removal from the government of Ireland. He declared his intention of making "a journey of purpose to Dublin having now no other business there;" and accordingly did attend him to the water-side, where the Lord Deputy took an affectionate leave; and, kneeling down, requested his Grace's blessing before his departure. Dr. Parr states, "that the Primate did not fail to express his friendship to Lord Falkland on all occasions after his departure, doing his utmost by letters to several of the Lords of his Majesties Privy Council here, for his vindication from several false accusations which were then laid to his charge by some of the Irish nation before his Majesty; which letters together with the vindication of the Council of Ireland by their letter to his Majesty of his just and equal government, did very much contribute to the clearing of his innocence in these things whereof he was then accused." It did not require the sagacity of the Archbishop to discover that Lord Falkland was sacrificed to the impatience of Charles and his ministers at the murmurings[1] of the Irish malcontents. The recusants, irritated at the least restraint, inveighed against the agents whom they had so lately commissioned to England, and maintained that without authority they had imposed a tax too great to be borne. Those who dreaded an inquiry into the titles of their estates joined in the clamour; and the result was, that the Government was compelled to receive a quarterly

[1] Mr. Reid, in his History of the Presbyterians, on this, as well as upon many other occasions, suits his narrative to the interests of his party. He says: "The Romanist party were not without royal countenance and support; but owing to the zealous interference of the Protestant prelates, who warmly opposed the legal toleration of Popery, it was not always in the power of the King to favor them. Lord Falkland, whom Charles continued in the office of Deputy, was a lenient and inactive governor; but being married to a Roman Catholic lady, he was at all times prompt enough in fulfilling the favorable wishes of the Court towards the Romanists." The fact was, that Lord Falkland was removed, because he had endeavoured to control the Roman Catholics, and roused them to petition against him. The conduct of Archbishop Ussher at his departure would alone be sufficient to authenticate this view of the matter, if additional evidence were required.

payment of five thousand pounds instead of ten thousand pounds; that they were unable to meet the demands for payment from the troops; and in their discontent and annoyance admitted every complaint against the Lord Deputy.

The administration was now committed to the Lord Chancellor, the Viscount Loftus, and the Lord Treasurer, the Earl of Cork. The new Lords Justices, without consulting the English ministry, or waiting for any instructions from the King, pursued the recusants with severity, and threatened all persons who absented themselves from divine service in the parish churches, with the penalties of the Statute enacted in the second year of Elizabeth's reign. They were, however, soon informed that this severity was not acceptable to the King, nor deemed consistent with his present interests in Ireland. The triumph of the recusants knew no bounds; and a most extraordinary occurrence, even in those lawless times, took place in the City of Dublin. A fraternity of Carmelites appeared in the habit of their order, and publicly celebrated their religious rites in Cork-street, then one of the most frequented parts of Dublin. The Archbishop of Dublin (Bulkeley), and the Mayor of Dublin, roused by this defiance of law and government, led a party of the army to their place of worship, and attempted to disperse the assembly. The friars and their congregation repelled the attack by force, and obliged their assailants to consult their safety by a precipitate flight. The Archbishop escaped with great difficulty by taking shelter in a house. No remark is made by any of the historians upon the circumstance of the Archbishop of Dublin appearing at the head of an armed body; and there seems no possible excuse for his laying aside his sacred character, as the Mayor was present to control the body of soldiers. No surprise was manifested by the English Council, for they directed that the house "wherein the Reverend Archbishop and the Mayor of Dublin received the first publick affront be speedily demolished and be a mark of terror to the resisters of authority." The Lords Justices had been warned by the former reprimand, and communicated their proceedings to the English Government. Their report was now favourably received, and an

answer sent to the following effect: "By your letter we understand how the seditious riot, moved by the Friars and their adherents in Dublin hath by your good order and resolution been happily suppressed: and we doubt not but by this occasion you will consider, how much it concerneth the good government of that kingdom, to prevent in time the just growing of such evils." The consequence of these disturbances was the seizing upon the house in Back-lane which had been used as a Popish college[k], and giving it to the University of Dublin, who placed there a rector and scholars, and maintained a weekly lecture which the Lords Justices often countenanced by their presence.

The alarming state of the Church induced the Committee of the Privy Council[l], to whom the affairs of Ireland were intrusted, to represent the matter to the King; and His Majesty immediately sent the following letter to the Archbishops of the four provinces:

"CHARLES REX.

"Most Reverend Father in God, right trusty, and entirely beloved, we greet you well. Among such disorders

[k] From the Records of Trinity College it appears that, at this time, three mass-houses were given to the College, two in Bridge-street, and one in Back-lane. Two Bachelors were appointed Masters in Bridge-street, and their place to be annually elective. And, some time after, there is an entry, that a Bachelor was appointed lecturer of all the Undergraduates in Bridge-street, to receive a quarterly tuition, and also the same quarterly rent for their chambers as were paid in Trinity College, viz., 3*s.* 4*d.* from a Fellow Commoner, and 1*s.* 8*d.* from a Pensioner. How long these houses remained in the possession of the College cannot be ascertained. They were certainly occupied by them in 1637. The enemies of Lord Strafford laid to his charge at his trial, that he had restored to the Papists two mass-houses, which had been assigned to the use of the University; but he defended himself by alleging that they had been restored in consequence of suits at the Council Board, and that he had endeavoured to maintain their seizure.

[l] Dr. Parr calls them the Lords' Committee for Irish Affairs, but it is evident, from the letter itself, that it was a Committee of the Privy Council. He also dates the letter 1631, but this is a mistake, it should be 1630; for April, 1630, was in the sixth year of Charles' reign. Bishop Bedell had, on the 1st of April, 1630, addressed a letter to Bishop Laud, giving a most melancholy account of the dioceses of Kilmore and Ardagh, but this could not have reached London in time to have occasioned the letter from the King.

as the Lords of our Privy Council, deputed by us to a particular care of our realm of Ireland, and the affairs thereof, have observed and represented to us in that Government, as well ecclesiastical as civil; we have taken in special consideration the growth and increase of the Romish faction there, and cannot but from thence collect, that the clergy of that Church are not so careful as they ought to be, either of God's service, or the honour of themselves, and their profession, in removing all pretences to scandal in their lives and conversation; wherefore as we have by all means endeavoured to provide for them a competency of maintenance, so we shall expect hereafter on their part a reciprocal diligence; both by their teaching and example, to win that ignorant and superstitious people to join with them in the true worship of God. And for that purpose we have thought fit, by these our letters, not only to excite your care of these things according to your duty, and dignity of your place, in that Church, but further to authorize you in our name to give by your letters to the several bishops in your provinces a special charge, requiring them to give notice to their clergy under them in their dioceses respectively, that all of them be careful to do their duty, by preaching and catechising in the parishes committed to their charge: and that they live answerable to the doctrine which they preach to the people. And further we will, that in our name you write to every bishop within your province, that none of them presume to hold with their bishoprics any benefice[m], or other ecclesiastical dignity whatsoever

[m] The great offender was Michael Boyle, Bishop of Waterford and Lismore. He was Fellow of St. John's, Oxford, when Laud was President, and his character then was, "that he would have done any thing or sold any man for sixpence profit." By the all-powerful interest of his cousin, the Earl of Cork, he was made Bishop of Waterford, and obtained a patent from James I. to hold, *in commendam* with the bishopric, all the dignities, promotions, and benefices which he possessed, except the deanery of Lismore, and all benefices, dignities, and promotions, either with or without cure, compatible or incompatible, in Ireland, in his or any other's patronage. There was, indeed, one limitation, that he should not hold more than one dignity or prebend in the same cathedral. His nephew, Michael, Bishop of Cork, and afterwards Lord Primate and Lord Chancellor, continued the same abuse after the Restoration, and appropriated

in their own hands, or to their own use, save only such as we have given leave under our broad seal of that our kingdom to hold in commendam: And of this we require you to be very careful, because there is a complaint brought to the said Lords Committees for Irish Affairs, that some bishops there, when livings fall vacant in their gift, do either not dispose them so soon as they ought, but keep the profits in their own hands, to the hindrance of God's service, and great offence of good people; or else they give them to young and mean men, which only bear the name, reserving the greatest part of the benefice to themselves, by which means that Church must needs be very ill, and weakly served; of which abuses, and the like (if any shall be practised), we require you to take special care for the present redress of them, and shall expect from you such account of your endeavours herein, as may discharge you, not to us only, but to God, whose honour and service it concerns. Given under our signet at our palace at Westminster, the twelfth of April, in the sixth year of our Reign."

Upon this letter Dr. Parr remarks, that it was evident how much His Majesty was offended at the increase of the Popish party in Ireland, and relates an anecdote which he copied from Archbishop Ussher's memorandum book, in these words: "The King once at Whitehall, in the presence of George Duke of Buckingham, of his own accord said to me, that he never loved Popery in all his life, but that he never detested it before his going to Spain."

The commands of the King fully agreed with the opinions and practices of the Primate. His effects had been unremitting to convert the Roman Catholics; more than a year before he had succeeded in the case of a gentleman of considerable fortune, Mr. James Dillon; and there is in the

to his own use the revenues of the livings that became vacant in his diocese, under the pretence that he could not find clergymen to accept them. He, however, was able to discover incumbents, when the Lord President of Munster, Lord Orrery, announced to him, that, unless the livings were filled, he would sequester their revenues for the support of some students in Trinity College, Dublin.

collection of letters[n] one addressed to the Archbishop by Dr. Hakewill[o], afterwards Rector of Exeter College, Oxford, in which he speaks "of this young gentleman whom you were pleased to commend as a jewel of price to my care and trust, praising God that your Lordship hath been made his instrument to reclaim him from the superstitions of the Romish Church, and wishing that we had some more frequent examples on that hand, in these cold and dangerous times." This Mr. James Dillon was afterwards Earl of Roscommon: and, at a subsequent period, it appears[p] that the Primate undertook the care of the young Lord of Evagh, his father being dead, and kept a tutor for him in his own family. Dr. Parr gives the following account of the Archbishop's conduct in carrying out the directions contained in His Majesty's letter: "He[q] made it is business to reclaim those deluded people who had been bred up in the Roman Catholic religion from their infancy; for which end he began to converse more frequently and more familiarly with the gentry and nobility of that persuasion, as also with divers of the inferior sort that dwelt near him, inviting them often to his house, and discoursing with them with great mildness of the chief tenets of their religion; by which gentle usage he was strangely successful, convincing many of them of their errors, and bringing them to the knowledge of the

[n] See vol. xv. pag. 417.

[o] The Archbishop entertained a very high respect for Dr. Hakewill, and addressed the following letter to him in praise of his work, "An Apologue or Declaration of the Power and Providence of God:"

"WORTHY SIR,

"It lyeth not in my power to make any sufficient requitall unto you for the many courtesies which I received from you at Oxford; but especially for your last remembrance of mee with that noble monument of your learning and industrie, which you were pleased to send unto me. Other books I seldom read but once, and that cursorily too for the most part: but here juvat usque morari, the things contained therein being so artificially mixed with such variety of learning and matter of delight, that they can not but decies repetita placere.

"Your faithful friend and brother,

"JA. ARMACHANUS."

[p] See MSS. Smith, in Bodleian Library, vol. lxxiii. pag. 33.

[q] Parr's Life, pag. 39.

truth. And he also advised the bishops and clergy of his province to deal with the Popish recusants in their several dioceses and cures after the same manner; that if possible they might make them understand their errors and the danger in which they were; which way in a country, where there are no penal laws to restrain the publick profession of the religion, was the best if not the only means that could be used. Nor was his care confined only to the conversion of the ignorant Irish Papists; but he also endeavoured the reduction of the Scotch and English sectaries to the bosom of the Church as it was by law established, conferring and arguing with divers of them, as well ministers as laymen, and shewing them the weakness of those scruples and objections they had against their joyning with the publick service of the Church and submitting to its government and discipline."

In the winter of this year, the Primate suffered severely from an extraordinary loss of blood: he says himself, "which instruction[r] God did shortly after really seal unto me by his fatherly chastisement, whereby he brought me even unto the pits brink, and when I had received in myself the sentence of death was graciously pleased to renew the lease of my life again, that I might learn not to trust in myself, but in him which raised the dead." On the 29th of May, 1630, the Queen was safely delivered of a son. The King sent a special messenger, Thomas Preston, Portcullis, one of the officers of arms, to announce the joyful event[s] to the Lords Justices, who appointed a day of public thanksgiving, and wrote to the Primate an earnest request, that he would preach at Christ Church on the occasion, if he could do so without danger to his health. The Primate, though not

[r] See letter 163, vol. xv. pag. 480.

[s] The event was received by his Majesty's subjects with very different feelings. The Puritans were greatly disappointed, for they looked to the descendants of the Electress Palatine. One of the leaders of that party did not scruple to say, "He could see no such cause of joy, as the others did; for God had already better provided for us, in giving the Queen of Bohemia such a hopeful progeny brought up in the Protestant religion, whereas the King's children being to be brought up under a mother of the Romish persuasion, it was uncertain what religion they would follow."

yet perfectly recovered, complied, and preached a thanksgiving sermon on the text, "Instead[t] of thy fathers shall be thy children, whom thou mayest make princes in all the earth."

At this time the Primate was actively engaged in endeavouring to prevent the grant of some impropriations from the Church. From the correspondence with the Bishop of London, and with the Lords Justices, it appears that Sir John Bathe had obtained a letter from the King, granting him certain impropriations, which had been all conferred upon the Church. The Primate urges upon the Lords Justices the propriety of stopping Sir John Bathe's patent, because the letter from the King "had been gotten by mere surreptition." He proceeds with great earnestness: "Whatsoever[u] they knew or knew not of his Majesty's own pious resolution and constant purpose never to revoke that which he hath once given to God; I rest so confident, as I dare pawn my life upon it, that when he did sign those letters of Sir John Bathe's, he had not the least intimation given unto him, that this did in any way cross that former gift which he made unto the Church, upon so great and mature deliberation, as being grounded upon the advice, first of the Commissioners sent into Ireland; then of the Lords of the Council upon their report in England, thirdly of King James, that ever blessed Father of the Church, and lastly, of the Commissioners for Irish affairs, unto whom for the last debating and conclusion of this business, I was by his now Majesty referred myself at my being in England." He then concludes with the reasonable request, that "your Lordships will stay your hands from passing Sir John Bathe's patent, until my Lord of London himself shall signifie his Majesties further pleasure unto you in this particular." This letter was dated the 3rd of April, and at that very time they sealed the patent in spite of this remonstrance, and kept the fact concealed from the Archbishop, who persevered in his endeavours to prevent, as he thought, the robbery from being committed. He writes instructions a few days after

[t] Psalm xlv. ver. 16.

[u] Letter 165, vol. xv. pag. 488.

to Dean Lesly, to take the proper measures for stopping the patent; among them is the following: "You are to put the Lords Justices in mind from me, that in the instructions which they received with the sword, they are authorized to make stay of the passing of any grant, for which the Kings letters are brought unto them, where they have cause to doubt whether his Majesty were fully informed or no concerning the conveniency or inconveniency of that particular. Wherein if my Lord of London's letter be not of authority sufficient otherwise to make a legal attestation of his Majesties royal intendment: yet I suppose it will carry so much weight with it, as to stay their hands a little while longer (as they have done hitherto, when they had nothing so strong a motive) until his Majesty being fully informed upon both sides, shall signifie his express pleasure unto them in this particular. And in doing otherwise, they may justly conceive that it will be charged upon them for a neglect in performance of his Majesties pleasure." The deception was carried on for three months, and at length Bishop Laud writes to the Primate: "Though in your last letters you be confident Sir John's grant is not past the Seals, as he hath avouched it is: yet I must acquaint your Grace that you are mistaken therein; for it appeared at the last sitting of the Committee, that the seal was put to his grant at the beginning of April last. Of which doctrine you may make this use; what close conveyance and carriage there may be when the Church is to be spoiled."

Another paragraph in this letter shews at what an early period the exaggerations with respect to the wealth of the Irish Church commenced. Sir John Bathe stated, in a speech for the purpose of enforcing his claims to the impropriations, "that the clergy had a third part of the kingdom." Bishop Laud adds: "I represented to the Lords the paper which you sent me concerning the state of the County of Louth. It was a miserable spectacle to them all." This return for Louth is not preserved; but the Return of the Diocese of Meath, printed in the Appendix, will sufficiently prove the real state of the clergy.

These letters also bring to our notice the endeavours of

the Primate to procure the deanery of Armagh for the learned Gerard John Vossius, and thus induce him to fix his residence in Ireland. Lord Brook had some time before made an attempt to bring Vossius into England, by offering him a readership at Cambridge, but he had excused himself on the ground that he was unwilling, "in regard of his wife and children, to bring them from all their kindred into a strange place." Subsequently Charles I. had given him the reversion of a prebend in the cathedral of Canterbury, into which he was installed in the year 1629, and received an allowance of one hundred pounds a year notwithstanding his absence[v]. Bishop Laud remarks, that "the prebend of Canterbury, would he have been a priest and resided upon it, would have been as much to him as the deanery of Armagh." Vossius did not accept the offer of the deanery, if indeed it ever was made. Bishop Laud's answer to the Primate's application is very mysterious: "But[w] howsoever, my Lord, the King having given him that preferment already, will hardly be brought to give him another, especially considering what I could write to you, were it fit. Nevertheless out of my love to the work you mention, if you can prevail with Vossius to be willing, and that it may appear the Deanery of Armagh will be of sufficient means for him and his numerous family, if your Grace then certify me of it, I shall venture to speak, and do such offices as shall be fit." From this it appears that no scruple existed in the minds of Laud or Ussher, as to giving prebends or deaneries to persons who were not priests. Had this been the opinion of Laud alone, many would gladly have seized upon the fact, as an additional proof of his devotion even to the abuses of the Romish system, but they will scarcely venture to include Ussher in such a censure. It seems, however,

[v] Grotius, after congratulating Vossius upon his appointment, says: "Sane præter commoda quæ tibi inde evenerunt, honos ille eximius est et quod sciam tibi ac Petro Molinæo externorum habitus nemini. Id vero est tanquam Corinthi meruisse civitatem." Grotius was mistaken, for the same preferment had been given to Casaubon, and the same allowance made to him.

[w] Letter 162, Works, vol. xv. pag. 478.

extraordinary, that Bishop Laud, in a subsequent letter to the Primate, complains in very strong terms of the Lord Chancellor Loftus holding an archdeaconry of good value, when he was only a deacon. "Surely[x] my Lord, if this be so[y], there is somewhat in it that I will not express by letter, but were I his superior in ordinary, I know what I would do, and that I have plainly expressed both to his Majesty and the Lords committee."

The Primate was at this time much distressed by the disputes, in which Bishop Bedell was involved by his zealous endeavours to remove all abuses from his diocese. At first the Primate appears to have been very unfavorably impressed by the Bishop's conduct, but gradually these misconceptions were removed, and their ancient friendship restored. It is not improbable that much of the alienation

[x] See Letter 176, Works, vol. xv. pag. 525.

[y] The case was worse, for Sir Adam Loftus was only a layman. He appears to have got possession of the Archdeaconry of Glendaloch about the year 1594, for in that year he was Proctor to the Œconomy: his name appears in the regal visitation of 1615. Sir Adam Loftus was nephew to the Archbishop of Dublin; he was a Professor of the Civil Law, and in 1595 constituted Judge of the Marshall Court; in 1598 appointed Master in Chancery; in 1619 made Chancellor of Ireland, and in 1622 created a peer by the title of Viscount Loftus of Ely. Shortly after the date of this letter attempts were made to dispossess him of the archdeaconry. It appears from an ancient visitation book in the Consistorial Registry Office of Dublin, that a trial was held in the Archbishop's Court, and the archdeaconry declared vacant. On the 24th of April, 1638, the Archbishop of Dublin collated Edward Stanhope to the archdeaconry, who was installed on the 1st of May, 1639, and appeared at the visitation of 1640. Loftus, appealed, and the name of Viscount Loftus of Ely appears in the Visitation Books of the three following years. However he contrived to defeat the decision, it is certain he held the archdeaconry till his death, which took place in 1643. These proceedings about the archdeaconry will sufficiently account for the hostility of Lord Strafford to the Chancellor, when a charge was brought against him before the Privy Council. However illegal the sentence appears to us, it was not unusual at that period, and in this case sanctioned by the approbation of the King himself. The invasion of the rights of the Church must have made Strafford ready to listen with eagerness to any charges made against Lord Ely, and no additional incitement was required from the base motives assigned to him by some historians. At this distance of time we can dispassionately view the transaction, and we must look with the utmost indignation upon a Lord Chancellor trampling upon the law of the land,

might have been caused by the misrepresentations of the Primate's chaplain, Dr. Bernard[z], who was then Dean of Kilmore, and the only clergyman in the diocese who resisted the Bishop's endeavours to remove pluralities. The Dean had applied to the Bishop for the living of Kildromfarten, which Mr. Hilton was ready to resign in his favor, and the Primate had seconded the application; but the Bishop, in his letter to the Primate, makes an apology for not complying with his Grace's request, by saying, "as I easily conceived, that being solicited by your old servant you could do no less than you did;" and assigns as his reason to the Dean, "that he did not know the place nor the people, but if they were mere Irish, he did not see how Mr. Dean should discharge the duty of a minister to them." Bishop Bedell himself speaks in the strongest language of

to hold a paltry ecclesiastical benefice, and, when deprived of it by the proper authorities, still maintaining possession by unjustifiable appeals.

The records of the Cathedral of St. Patrick afford melancholy proof of the rapacity of Archbishop Loftus and his family, to which allusion was made before, pag. 6. Sir Adam Loftus, son to the Archbishop, obtained a grant from James I., in 1618, of the entire prebend of Tymothan, the townland of Tymothan, containing a castle, five tenements, and four plowlands, with all tithes, great and small. And the Archbishop himself procured the reversion of the archdeaconry for George Cowlie, gent.; and in 1615 we find it recorded that the mensal of the archdeaconry was greatly reduced, by this man having granted the tithes of Rathfarnham to Robert Leicester, a servant of the Archbishop.

[z] Nicholas Bernard had been educated at Cambridge, and introduced to the Primate, then Bishop of Meath, in the year 1624. The Primate brought him over to Ireland in 1626, and in the autumn of that year ordained him. His Grace's interest procured for him the deanery of Kilmore in the next year. It seems very extraordinary that Bishop Bedell should, in 1630, speak of him as the Primate's "old servant." The biographers of Bishop Bedell state that Dr. Bernard was so ashamed of his being the only person who resisted the Bishop's wishes about pluralities, that he exchanged his deanery for that of Ardagh; but this is not correct, for he did not make the exchange till 1637. In 1635 the Primate gave him the vicarage of St. Peter's, Drogheda, where he resided, in care of his Grace's library, till after the siege in 1641. Soon after the rebellion he left Ireland, and was appointed Rector of Whitechurch, in Shropshire, and preacher to the Society of Gray's Inn. He then was appointed Chaplain and Almoner to Oliver Cromwell. He seems to have had very accommodating religious opinions, for on the Restoration he continued to hold his living of Whitechurch, and died soon after.

the hostility of the Dean: "And[a] as for mine accuser (whose hatred I have incurred only by not giving way to his covetous desire of heaping living upon living to the evident damage not only of other souls committed to him, but of his own) truly I am glad and do give God thanks, that this malignity which a while masked itself in the pretence of friendship, hath at last discovered itself by public opposition. It hath not, and I hope it shall not be in his power to hurt me at all, he hath rather shamed himself: and although his high heart cannot give his tongue leave to acknowledge his folly, his understanding is not so weak and blind as not to see it."

The immediate cause of bringing the Bishop into opposition with the Primate, was an attempt on the Bishop's part to remove his lay Chancellor[b], and preside himself

[a] Letter 168, Works, vol. xv. pag. 537. The Bishop also says to the Primate: "As touching his traducing me in your pulpit at Cavan, I have sent your Grace the testimonies of Mr. Robinson and Mr. Feate." I cannot comprehend why he should call the pulpit in Cavan the Primate's pulpit; Cavan was not in the diocese of Armagh, but of Kilmore.

[b] Bishop Bedell complained of all the ecclesiastical courts. He says, in a letter to the Primate, "he had been wont to except one court, but he had heard that it is said among great personages here that my Lord Primate is a good man, but his court is as corrupt as others." He speaks of his own Chancellor, Mr. Cook, as "the most noted man and most cried out upon;" and Bishop Burnet says of him, "He had bought his place from his predecessor, and so thought he had a right to all the profits that he could raise out of it, and the whole business of the court seemed to be nothing but extortion and oppression. For it is an old observation, that men who buy justice will sell it." The Bishop discovered that the patent under which his Chancellor acted was invalid, as not having the Bishop's seal, and being defective in other particulars (see Letter 160, where, among the defects, he mentions "the false Latin," a circumstance not very unusual), and inhibited Mr. Cook from acting under it. Mr. Cook, the Chancellor, brought the matter into the Primate's court. The Bishop submitted it to the Primate's decision, but not his Chancellor's, or to the Synod of the province. I cannot find that the cause was tried in the Archbishop's court: perhaps the difficulty arose from the objection of Bishop Bedell just mentioned, or from a remark in the answer of the Primate, "In your judging of Mr. Cooks patent to be void, I wish you would not be too forward upon that point. To pronounce in a judicial manner of the validity or invalidity of a patent, is no office of the Ecclesiastical but of the civil magistrate; and for the one to intromit himself into the judicature of that which pertaineth to another, you know draweth near to a Præmunire." At a subsequent period the cause was brought into the Court of Chancery, and the Lord Chan-

in his own court. However, various other complaints appear to have been made against him. The Bishop, in his letter to Archbishop Ussher, stated that he had been accused to him of being a Papist, an Arminian, of bowing at the name of Jesus, of pulling down the seat of his predecessor to erect an altar, and of undervaluing[c] the Primate's preaching. The Primate answers the Bishop with great severity. The following passage is very remarkable: "Most[d] of the slanders wherewith you were so much troubled I never heard till you now mentioned them yourself; only the course which you took with the Papists, was generally cried out against: neither do I remember in all

cellor confirmed Mr. Cook's appointment, with £100 costs. The details of these transactions are not given in any of the Lives of Archbishop Ussher, and in the Lives of Bishop Bedell are not arranged correctly. Bishop Burnet, and he is followed by Mr. Mason, places the trial in the Court of Chancery before the discovery that the patent was illegal. Now this is certainly not the case, for the suspension of Mr. Cook and the trial in the Archbishop's court are mentioned in the letters written in the end of the year 1629 and the beginning of 1630. But a disgraceful story, related by the son-in-law of Bishop Bedell, fixes the date of the trial after the appointment of Chancellor Bolton, which took place in 1639. The story is, that when Bishop Bedell asked the Lord Chancellor Bolton "how he came to make so unjust a decree?" he answered, "that all his father had left him was a register's place; so he thought he was bound to support those courts, which he saw would be ruined if the way he took had not been checked." The Bishop appears to have argued his case both on the invalidity of the patent, and on the general question of the powers vested in the bishop.

[c] The story of this complaint is too happy an illustration of the mode in which such accusations are got up, to be omitted. The story was, that the Bishop compared the Primate's preaching to one Mr. Whiskins, Mr. Creighton and Mr. Baxter's, and preferred them. The Bishop states the facts in these words: "Thus it was: Mr. Dunsterville acquainted me with his purpose to preach of Prov. xx. 6: 'But a faithful man who can find;' where he said the doctrine he meant to raise was this, that Faith was a rare gift of God. I told him I thought he mistook the meaning of the text, and wished him to choose longer texts, and not bring his discourses to a word or two of Scripture, but rather to declare those of the Holy Ghost. He said, your Grace did so sometimes. I answered, there might be just cause, but I thought you did not so ordinarily. As for those men, Mr. Whiskins, and the rest, I never heard any of them preach to this day. Peradventure their manner is to take longer texts, whereupon the comparison is made up, as if I preferred them before you."

[d] See Letter 161, Works, vol. xv. pag. 473.

my life, that any thing was done here by any of us, at which the professors of the Gospel did take more offence, or by which the adversaries were more confirmed in their superstitions and idolatry. Whereas I could wish that you had advised with your brethren, before you would adventure to pull down that which they have been so long a building; so I may boldly aver, that they have abused grossly both of us, who reported unto you, that I should give out, that I found myself deceived in you. What you did, I know was done out of a good intention, but I was assured that your project would be so quickly refuted with your present success and event, that there would be no need, that your friends should advise you to desist from building such castles in the air." The Bishop, in his answer, declares that all this is a riddle to him, but it is very evident to what the Primate alluded. The censure was upon the Bishop's attempt at converting the Irish, by translating the Scriptures into the Irish language, and by circulating a short catechism with the Irish and English on opposite pages. The objection affords a melancholy instance of the strength of prejudice. The Primate, who could so convincingly argue upon the impropriety of prayers in an unknown tongue, and upon the necessity of translating the Scriptures into different languages, yet failed to apply his own principles to the case immediately before him, the case of the Irish nation. Blinded by the false notion of upholding English influence by exterminating the Irish language, and taught to reverence the policy which dictated an Act of Parliament in direct opposition to the principles of the Reformation, the Primate censured as a mode of confirming superstition and idolatry, the first judicious attempt that had been made to spread the doctrines of the Reformation through the country. It is not a little singular that the two bishops who, at different periods, exerted themselves most strenuously to spread the knowledge of the Irish language among the clergy were Englishmen, Bishop Bedell and Primate Marsh.

It would appear from the whole correspondence, that nothing gave the Primate so much offence as Bishop Bedell's

complaint about his triennial visitation. The Bishop, with not a little want of courtesy, says in his letter: "In that of your late visitation, they see no profit but the taking of money." The Primate is evidently much hurt by this remark, and, after defending himself against the charge of oppressing the clergy of Kilmore, concludes thus: "I am a fool, I know, in thus commending (or defending rather) myself, but consider who constrained me." These unfortunate differences were not settled till Bishop Bedell, in the following summer, visited the Archbishop at Termonfechin, and then a perfect reconciliation took place, as he himself states in a letter to the Archbishop: "I cannot easily express what contentment I received at my late being with your Grace at Termonfechin. There had nothing happened to me, I will not say, since I came into Ireland, but as far as I can call to remembrance in my whole life, which did so much affect me on this hand, as the hazard of your good opinion. For loving and honoring you[e] in truth (for the truths sake, which is in us and shall abide with us for ever) without any private interest, and receiving so unlooked for a blow from your hand, (which I expected should have tenderly apply'd some remedy to me, being smitten by others) I had not present the defences of reason and grace. And although I know it to be a fault in myself, since in the performance of our duties, the judgment of our Master, even alone, ought to suffice us; yet I could not be so much master of mine affections, as to cast out this weakness. But blessed be God, who (as I began to say) at my being with you refreshed my spirit by your kind renewing and confirming your love to me: and all humble thanks to you, that gave me place to make my defence, and took upon you the cognisance of mine innocency." Upon the question of the right of the Chancellors to preside in

[e] Dr. Ward, in a letter to the Primate about this time, says: "I know not how my Lord of Kilmore doth sort with the Irish. I persuade myself he hath godly and pious intentions: He is discreet and wise, industrious and diligent, and of great sufficiency many ways. I do persuade myself, the more your Lordship doth know him, the more your Lordship will love him: and this I dare say, he truly honoreth and sincerely loveth your Lordship."—See Works, vol. xv. pag. 507.

the courts of the several dioceses Bishop Burnet states, that "the other Bishops did not stand by our Bishop in this matter; but were contented to let him fall under censure, without interposing in it as a cause of common concern: Even the excellent Primate told him, the tide went so high that he could assist him no longer; for he stood by him longer than any of the order had done." The explanation of this conduct is given so correctly, and the character of Primate Ussher is so well drawn by Bishop Burnet, that I must again quote his words: "No man was more sensible of the abuses of the spiritual court than Usher was; no man knew the beginning and progress of them better, nor was more touched with the ill effects of them: and together with his great and vast learning, no man had a better soul and a more apostolical mind. In his conversation he expressed the true simplicity of a Christian: for passion, pride, self will or the love of the world seemed not to be so much as in his nature. So that he had all the innocence of the dove in him. He had a way of gaining peoples hearts and of touching their consciences, that look'd like somewhat of the apostolical age reviv'd; he spent much of his time in these two best exercises, secret prayer and dealing with other peoples consciences, either in his sermons or private discourses; and what remained, he dedicated to his studies, in which those many volumes that came from him, shewed a most amazing diligence and exactness, joined with great judgment. So that he was certainly one of the greatest and best men that the age or perhaps the world has produced. But no man is entirely perfect; he was not made for the governing part of his function. He had too gentle a soul to manage that rough work of reforming abuses: and therefore he left things as he found them. He hoped a time of reformation would come. He saw the necessity of cutting off many abuses, and confessed that the tolerating those abominable corruptions that the canonists had brought in, was such a stain upon a Church, that in all other respects was the best reformed in the world, that he apprehended it would bring a curse and ruin upon the whole constitution. But though

he prayed for a more favourable conjecture, and would have concurred in a joint reformation of those things very heartily; yet he did not bestir himself suitably to the obligations that lay on him for carrying it on: and it is very likely that this sat heavy on his thoughts when he came to dye, for he prayed often and with great humility, that God would forgive him sins of omission, and his failings in his duty. It was not without great uneasiness to me that I overcome myself so far as to say any thing that may seem to diminish the character of so extraordinary a man, who in other things was beyond any man of his time, but in this only he fell beneath himself: and those that upon all other accounts loved and admired him, lamented this defect in him, which was the only alloy that seemed left, and without which he would have been held perhaps in more veneration than was fitting. His physician Dr. Bootius, that was a Dutchman, said truly of him, 'If our Primate of Armagh were as exact a disciplinarian as he is eminent in searching antiquity, defending the truth and preaching the Gospel, he might without doubt deserve to be made the chief Churchman of Christendom.' But this was necessary to be told, since History is to be writ impartially, and I ought to be forgiven for taxing his memory a little; for I was never so tempted in any thing that I ever writ, to disguise the truth as upon this occasion: yet though Bishop Usher did not mind himself, he had a singular esteem for that vigor of mind, which our Bishop expressed in the reforming these matters."

With this passage Dr. Parr is greatly offended, and speaks of "the injurious reflections upon the Archbishop, taken up partly from uncertain reports, and partly upon the Bishop's letter to him upon that occasion;" and he adds: "of which inadvertency as the composer of that life is already made sensible, so we hope that he will do him right, according as he hath promised, when time shall serve." If Bishop Burnet ever made such a promise, he certainly did not fulfil it, for the passage remains uncontradicted. Nor do I think the warmest admirer of the Archbishop ought to wish any change made in the faithful

delineation of his character. That any human being should be faultless, or equally great in all the various relations of life, is an expectation that can never be realized; and we ought to be grateful to the biographer who marks the distinguishing characteristics of the individual whose life he narrates. This observation is particularly necessary now, as the biographers of eminent ecclesiastics in our day seem to think they are bound to put forward the subjects of their memoirs as perfect beings, and all the peculiarities of character, all the shades which give reality to the picture, are lost in one unbroken expanse of panegyric. The character of Archbishop Ussher, as given by Bishop Burnet, is as near perfection as human nature could reach; it would have appeared perfect, had he not unfortunately been placed in a situation which exposed his defects, if defects they can be called, when they arose "from the gentleness of his nature," from "the innocence of the dove." Were the undeviating line of panegyric to be followed, and Dr. Parr's representation of his fitness for governing to be admitted, the state of the Irish Church when Lord Strafford[f] assumed the reins of government would be an enigma incapable of solution, and the successful exertions of Bishop Bramhall, in recovering the property, and correcting the abuses of the Church, would be utterly unintelligible. Even the very dispute which has occasioned these remarks can only be accounted for by the retiring meekness of the Archbishop, which shrank from the contest, in which the bolder spirit of Bishop Bedell fearlessly engaged. The anxiety of the two great prelates to uphold the religion they professed was equal; their detestation of injustice, oppression, and sacrilege alike strong; their diffe-

[f] Archbishop Laud felt this strongly, and he says, in one of his letters to the Lord Deputy: "I find your Lordship hath a good opinion of my Lord Primate's learning and honesty, and I verily think he will not deceive your expectation in either; but you are pleased to ask me a question whether that be all that goes to a good Bishop and a good governor? I must needs answer, no; but if that which is further required be wanting in him, I am the more sorry."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 156. I believe it will be found that a devoted student has never made an efficient bishop. Learning is one of the qualifications necessary, but only one.

rences could only arise from the different views they took of the proper modes to effect a remedy, and those different views depended upon the different constitution of their minds, upon the firmness of the one contrasted with the mildness of the other.

In the year 1631, the Primate[g] published in Dublin his History of Gotteschalcus[h]. He had been collecting materials for a history of the Pelagian controversy, when the publication of Vossius's history made him give up the pursuit: however meeting sometime after with several incidents relating to Gotteschalcus, which he had not before known, he determined to publish a life of that unfortunate monk, and he dedicated it to Vossius, as the facts there collected might be of use to him in preparing a new edition of his work. The Life, like many of his other works, is given almost entirely in the language of others, the different extracts being merely connected together by a sentence or two. He prefixes to the life a brief account of the revival of the Pelagian heresy in Ireland during the seventh century, a fact which is proved by a letter[i] addressed, during the vacancy

[g] Mr. Tyrrell mentions, in the particulars of the Archbishop's life sent by him to Dr. Smith, that it was by the advice of Archbishop Ussher, Lord Pembroke, Chancellor of the University of Oxford, purchased the valuable collection of manuscripts from the library of Signor Barocci, and presented them to the University of Oxford; yet Bishop Laud says, in a letter to Archbishop Ussher (see Works, vol. xv. pag. 527), "it gives me much content that I was the means of it." In the year 1628 the Archbishop made the first mention of them in a letter to an unnamed Lord: "That famous library of Giacomo Barocci, a gentleman of Venice, consisting of 242 Greek manuscript volumes, is now brought into England by Mr. Fetherstone the stationer;" and he requests his Lordship to interfere with the King to have them purchased. In the following year Sir Henry Bourchier informs the Archbishop, that this great treasure had been purchased for the University of Oxford by the Earl of Pembroke, at the price of £700.—See Works, vol. xv. pag. 436.

[h] In a letter to Dr. Ward he speaks of it as "the first Latin book that ever was printed in Ireland;" but in this his Grace was certainly mistaken. At least two were printed before; Sir James Ware printed his work, "Archiepiscoporum Casseliensum et Tuamensium Vitæ," in 1626, and "De Præsulibus Lageniæ," in 1628.

[i] This letter was afterwards published by the Archbishop in his "Sylloge Epistolarum Hibernicarum."—See Epist. IX., Works, vol. iv. pag. 427.

of the papacy, by the clergy of Rome to Tomianus Archbishop of Armagh, and other bishops and clergy, and he gives a statement of the attempts made by Bede to eradicate the heresy from England. In the next century, the controversy about Pelagianism and predestination was agitated in Spain, and in the ninth century broke out with still greater violence in Germany, having been excited by Gotteschalcus[1], a monk at Orbais, in the bishopric of Soissons. Gotteschalcus appears to have been involved in difficulties from his very youth. He had been placed an infant in the monastery of Fulda, and when he grew up, he wished not to take the monastic vows. The matter was referred to the council of Mentz in 829, and decided in favor of Gotteschalcus. But Rabanus, the abbot of Fulda, appealed against the sentence to Louis le Débonnaire, who compelled Orgarius Archbishop of Mentz, to reverse the decision. Upon this Gotteschalcus would not return to Fulda, but took the vows at Orbais. His ordination also engaged him in contest with the Bishop of Soissons, for the see of Rheims being vacant, he was ordained by Rigboldus a Chorepiscopus, without the consent of the Bishop of Soissons, in whose diocese the monastery was situated. This disagreement sent him to travel. He went to Rome, and when returning commenced his mission for propagating his peculiar opinions. Within a very short space of time he had the ablest writers in Europe engaged in the controversy; in defence of him appeared Remigius Archbishop of Lyons, Prudentius Trecassinus, Ratramnus of Corbey; and on the the other side Hincmar Archbishop of Rheims, Amalarius Archbishop of Lyons, Rabanus Maurus Archbishop of Mentz, and Johannes Scotus. The proceedings with regard to Gotteschalcus afford a melancholy example of the disunion which existed among the Christian Churches. He appears first to have commenced his public disputations in the presence of Nothingus Bishop of Verona, who soon communicated the opinions to Rabanus. Rabanus immediately

[1] This name Ussher interprets to be the Servant of God, from *Gott*, God, and *schalch*, a servant.

pronounced them heretical. Gotteschalcus with great intrepidity proceeded to Mentz, and again met his old opponent, now raised from the abbot of Fulda to the Archbishop of Mentz. The Archbishop assembled a Council in the year 848, to which Gotteschalcus presented a written statement of his opinions upon the subject of predestination. The Council condemned the doctrines, but did not venture to punish Gotteschalcus, as he belonged to the archdiocese of Rheims. Rabanus sent his prisoner to Hincmar, with a letter which certainly does not do him any credit; he commences it: "Notum est dilectioni vestræ, quod quidam gyrovagus monachus, nomine Gothescalc, qui se asserit sacerdotem in vestra parochia ordinatum, de Italia venit ad nos Moguntiam." Whatever his errors might have been, Rabanus ought not to have spoken in such terms of the individual, whom he had compelled to adopt the monastic life. Nor can we feel any respect for the conduct of Hincmar and his associates. A synod was summoned at Quiercy, where the doctrines of Gotteschalcus were again considered, and he himself sentenced to be degraded from his office of a priest, and to be flogged until he should throw into the flames a book in which he had made collections from Scripture to support his opinions, and then that he should be confined in the monastery of Hautvilliers.

The cruelty and injustice of this punishment is well described by Remigius: "Quapropter illud prorsus omnes non solum dolent, sed etiam horrent: quia inaudito irreligiositatis et crudelitatis exemplo, tamdiu ille miserabilis flagris et cædibus trucidatus est, donec (sicut narraverunt nobis, qui præsentes aderant) accenso coram se igni libellum, in quo sententias Scripturarum sive sanctorum Patrum sibi collegerat, quas in concilio offerret, coactus est jam pene emoriens suis manibus in flammam projicere atque incendio concremare, cum omnes retro hæretici verbis et disputationibus victi atque convicti sint, et sic pravitas, quæ videbatur hominis fuerit coercenda, ut nulla divinis rebus inferretur injuria. Maxime cum illi sensus, qui ipso continebantur libello (excepto uno quod extremum ponitur) non essent sui sed ecclesiastici; nec igitur damnandi, sed pia et paci-

fica fuerint inquisitione tractandi." Hincmar himself appears to have felt this impropriety, for he endeavoured to persuade his victim to retract his opinions, but in vain. Twenty years after he renewed these efforts, when the wretched prisoner was sinking into the grave, and sent a formulary which he was to sign before he could be received into the communion of the Catholic Church. The firmness of mind had not sunk under the decay of bodily strength. Gotteschalcus firmly refused to sign the document, and Hincmar denied Christian burial to his remains.

So far there appears but one united effort on the part of the Church to extinguish the errors of Gotteschalcus. But the Primate has, with consummate skill, brought forward the opinions of the opposing disputants, and has also marshalled against the decrees of the Councils of Mentz and Chiersi, the canons of the Councils of Valence, Langres, and Toul, and also the censure of the Church at Lyons. Although the Archbishop has given the extracts with great fairness, yet it is quite evident that he leans very decidedly in favor of Gotteschalcus, and considers him as only putting forward the doctrines of Augustine, he speaks of "Gotteschalci[k] pariter ac Augustini sententiam de prædestinatione orthodoxam," and refers to the Confessions[l] as establishing

[k] Works, vol. iv. pag. 192.

[l] Milner, in his Church History, wishes to throw a doubt upon the genuineness of the Confessions, because, at the close of one of them, Gotteschalcus appeals to the judgment of God, and demands that the trial should proceed by boiling water, oil, pitch, and fire, a degree of enthusiastic presumption which was most culpable. The historian forgets the manners of the age, and that this practice had been sanctioned by the decrees of councils and the laws of monarchs. Most appropriately on this subject, the Archbishop quotes a passage from Johannes Mariana: "Visum est controversiam ignis judicio permittere: sic ejus seculi mores erant rudes et agrestes, neque satis expensi ad Christianæ pietatis exemplum." To prove that this custom was derived from the Heathens, he quotes the following passage from the Antigone of Sophocles:

"Ἡμεν δ' ἕτοιμοι καὶ μύδρους αἴρειν χεροῖν,
Καὶ πῦρ διάρπειν, καὶ θεοὺς ὁρκωμοτεῖν
Τὸ μήτε δρᾶσαι, μήτε τῳ ξυνειδέναι
Τὸ πρᾶγμα βουλεύσαντι, μήτ' εἰργασμένῳ,"

and refers to Spelman's Glossary, *in voce* "judicium Dei," for further

the correctness of his opinions. It is not my intention to enter into a discussion, how far the opinions of Gotteschalcus, even if they agreed with those of Augustine, are the orthodox creed of the Church; but the most zealous defenders of this unfortunate writer must allow that he expressed himself most unguardedly, and enabled his opponents to make a strong case against him. There can be no doubt that he taught a twofold predestination, one to eternal life, the other to eternal death; that God does not will the salvation of all men, but only of the elect; and that Christ suffered death, not for the whole human race, but only for that portion of it to which God had decreed eternal salvation. His opponents state that he went much further, and that he wished to have it believed, that God not only predestinated certain persons to suffer punishment, but likewise to commit the sins by which they incurred that punishment. Archbishop Rabanus, in his letter to Archbishop Hincmar, says "that he had seduced many who had become less careful of their salvation, since they have learned from him to say, why should I labour for my salvation? If I am predestinated to damnation I cannot avoid it, and on the contrary if I am predestinated to salvation, whatever sins I may be guilty of, I shall certainly be saved." That Gotteschalcus must have been very unguarded in his language is evident from the fact, that many distinguished ecclesiastics at that time held the opinions, which his friends maintain were advocated by him, and yet never were censured by ecclesiastical authority. Archbishop Amolo, in his letter to Gotteschal-

authorities. But Mr. Milner appears never to have heard of Ussher's Life of Gotteschalcus. He says he found great difficulty in procuring information on the subject, and extracted his account from Du Pin and Fleury. He complains of the Magdeburgian Centuriators as not affording their readers any proper materials on which to form a judgment, a fault into which he undoubtedly falls himself, for he gives his readers no information whatever. His ignorance of Ussher's work, or the subsequent one of Mauguin, is very extraordinary. He should certainly have referred to them, when he wished to make a defence for Gotteschalcus and his opinions. For the particulars which I have added to the Archbishop's Life of Gotteschalcus, I am indebted to Mabillon, and the lives of Gotteschalcus, Rabanus, and Hincmar, in Ceillier's "Auteurs Ecclesiastiques."

cus, seems to have expressed accurately his faults: "Displicet nobis valde, quia tam dure et indisciplinate et immaniter de divina prædestinatione sentis et loqueris in damnatione reproborum." The same unguarded style appeared in his arguments about the Trinity, when he asserted "Deitas sanctæ Trinitatis trina est." Hincmar wrote a book to refute this blasphemy. Archbishop Ussher refers to the confession of Gotteschalcus, as sufficient proof that he was not guilty of the heresy of the Tritheists[m], however objectionable the expressions might be, and quotes the following defence from Colvenerius: "Id quidem minus recte et improprie dicitur: cum trium personarum in Sancta Trinitate non sit nisi una numero Deitas. Sed eo sensu dici potest trina Deitas, quia est in tribus personis."

Mauguin has brought forward an extraordinary charge against the Archbishop, couched in the most disrespectful language. He accuses him of having published without leave the Confessions of Gotteschalcus, from a manuscript which Sirmond had lent him. His words are: "Cum[n] Sirmondus illius copiam Usserio fecisset, ratus sola lectione contentum fore, ab eo fraude delusus est." Mauguin gives no authority for this accusation, and I cannot find any mention of it in Sirmond's writings. The character of the Archbishop is the best refutation of such a calumny: but we might find in the preface to the History additional proof that the writer was not claiming more merit for his work than he deserved: in the most unassuming manner he says: "Ex Lugdunensis Ecclesiæ scriptis et Flodoardo, majore ex parte eam contexens, de meo vero nihil adferens nisi ordinem." Dr. Smith states, that in his private letters he acknowledges the kindness of Sirmond, but that he did not publish the acknowledgment, being prohibited by the donor, lest he might be injured by the zealous Romanists. This defence seems founded rather on conjecture than on any evidence now extant. In a letter to Dr. Ward, the

[m] "In confessione sua Deum naturaliter quidem unum, sed personaliter trinum clarissime prædicat." — *Gotteschalci Hist.*, Works, vol. iv. pag. 17.

[n] Mauguin, Gotteschalc. Controv. Histor. Dissertat. pag. 94.

Archbishop speaks of having obtained the two confessions, never before printed, from Corbey Abbey in France, and in another of having "had them from Jacobus Sirmondus."

The publication of Gotteschalcus seems to have been in direct opposition to the orders issued by the King against reviving the Predestinarian controversy, yet no censure was passed upon the author or his book. This is the more striking, if we compare the conduct of Bishop Laud to Dr. Downham, Bishop of Derry. The Bishop of Derry printed, a short time before the publication of Gotteschalcus, a work, in which he "handled[o] the controversy of perseverance and the certainty of salvation;" or, as Prynne calls it, "a book[p] against the Arminians and the totall and finall Apostacie of the Saints from Grace." As soon as this book reached England, a letter was written, in the King's name, to Archbishop Abbot, desiring him to call in and suppress the work within the realm of England, and a similar letter was addressed to Archbishop Ussher. In proof that Bishop Laud was the author of this insult to Bishop Downham, Prynne quotes[q] a letter from Archbishop Ussher, which, as he states, was found at Lambeth. The letter is as follows:

"My most honoured Lord,

"The 8th of October, I received your letters of the 22 August &c. The last part of your Lordship's letter concerneth the Bishop of Derryes book, for the calling in whereof the 15 day of October I received his Majesties letters dated at Woodstock the 24 of August[r], whereupon I

[o] See Letter 163, Works, vol. xv. pag. 482. I believe the book referred to is, "The Covenant of Grace, or an Exposition upon Luke, i. 73, 74, 75." Dublin, 1631.

[p] Canterbury's Doom, pag. 171. [q] Ibid. pag. 172.

[r] This was the day after that on which the three Puritans, Ford of Magdalen Hall, Thorn of Balliol, and Hodges of Exeter, were expelled from Oxford, for their sermons reflecting upon the royal instructions. The text of Hodges was well chosen for an inflammatory harangue, being taken from Numbers, chap. iv.: "Let us make a captain and return into Egypt." At the same time the learned John Prideaux, Rector of Exeter College and Regius Professor of Divinity, was publicly censured by the King and Council for supporting these men.

presently sent out warrants and caused all the bookes that were left unsent into England to be seized upon; what did pass heretofore to the presse of Dublin, I had no eye unto, because it was out of my province, and the care I supposed did more properly belong unto my brother of Dublin. But seeing his Majestie hath been pleased to impose that charge upon me: I will (God willing) take order that nothing hereafter shall be published contrary unto his Majesties sacred directions. It seemeth your Lordship did conceive that my Lord of Derryes booke came out since the Historie of Gotteschalcus, whereas it was published about half a yeare before, whereby it came to passe, that all the coppies almost both in Ireland and England were dispersed before the prohibition came forth. The matter is not new (as your Lordship hath rightly observed) but was long since preached in St. Pauls church, when Doctor Bancroft was your Lordships predecessour in that see, at which time the treatise of Perseverance was to have been published, with Dr. Downams Lectures upon the 15th Psalme, as at the end of that booke is partly intimated. And in the History of Gotteschalcus your Lordship may see your owne observation fully verefied, that after Prelates had written against Prelates, and Synods against Synods, these things could have no end, until both sides became weary of contending. But sure I am I have made your Lordship weary long ere this: and therefore it is high time now to end. Therefore craving pardon for this prolixitie, I humbly take leave and rest

"Your Honours faithfull servant,

"JACO. ARMACHANUS.

"*Drogheda, November* 8, 1631."

This letter was probably manufactured by Prynne. There are many letters extant from Archbishop Ussher to different prelates, and he never commences any one of them "Most Honoured Lord." The commencement of all his letters to Laud when Bishop of London, is "My very good Lord;" and he never concluded them "Your Honours faithfull Servant." There is, however, no doubt that the order was sent to suppress Bishop Downham's book. The

cause of a similar order not having been against the History of Gotteschalcus, we must seek in the high respect entertained for the Archbishop by Charles I., and still more by Bishop Laud. Collier accounts for the circumstance thus: "Ussher's[s] book being written in Latin did less disservice; and besides some regard was shewn to the eminence of his station."

Dr. Parr states that the Archbishop went to London in the close of the year 1631, and published there his work on the religion anciently professed by the Irish and British. It must have been in January, 163½, for there is a letter from him to Dr. Forbes, dated the 13th of December, 1631, from Drogheda. Except the publication of this book there does not remain any account of the Archbishop's employment during his residence in England, which was not, however, of long continuance, as we find that he was in Dublin at the commencement of the following June. The work on the religion of the ancient Irish and British had appeared before, in nearly the same form, appended to a treatise of Sir Christopher Sibthorp, one of the Judges of the Court of King's Bench in Ireland. The new edition is dedicated to his very much honoured friend, Sir Christopher Sibthorp. In this dedication he states that he was induced to publish the work, from the hope that "a true discovery of the religion anciently professed in this kingdom might prove a special motive to induce his poor countrymen to consider a little better of the old and true way from whence they have hitherto been misled." Though not professedly written to refute their errors, he pointedly refers throughout to the false histories of Campian the Jesuit and O Sullevan. Of the latter he does not hesitate to say: "Philip[t] O Sullevan a worthy

[s] Collier, Eccles. Hist. vol. ii. pag. 750. Collier contradicts the letter by saying, "For preventing these prohibited sallies Beadle Bishop of Kilmore was ordered to overlook the press and keep it inoffensive." He does not, however, give any authority for the statement.

[t] Rel. of ancient Irish, Works, vol. iv. p. 334. O Sullevan, often called O Sullevan Bear, from the part of the county of Cork where he was born, was descended from an ancient Irish family, remarkable for their hostility to the English government. He fled with his parents into Spain after the battle of Kinsale, and was educated at Compostella. His first work

author to ground a report of antiquity upon: who in relation to matters that fell out in his own time, discovereth himself to be as egregious a liar as any (I verily think) that this day breatheth in Christendom."

In this work the learned author quotes the opinions of the most celebrated writers, upon the important points of doc-

was "Historiæ Catholicæ Compendium," of which Archbishop Ussher gives the character quoted above. He next published "Patriciana decas, sive Libri decem quibus de divi Patricii vita, purgatorio, miraculis rebusque gestis, de religionis Ibernicæ casibus, constantia, martyribus, divis, de Anglorum lubrica fide, De Anglo-Hereticæ Ecclesiæ sectis, cacopræsulibus, Jubileis plenissimis, liturgia, sacra pagina, cæremoniis et institutis accurate agitur." To this book he added an Appendix, with this title: "O Sullevani Bearri Iberni, Archicornigeromastix sive Jacobi Usheri Heresiarchæ confutatio." As the book is very scarce, and no description could give an idea of the vulgar false invective in which the writer indulges, I shall give an extract:

"Usheri descriptio: Tuis te coloribus pingam. Quis sis, lectorem paucis docebo. Es igitur ex ista Anglohæretica colluvione, quæ Iberniam nostra ætate inundavit, homulus insigniter improbus. Tui nominis obscuri famam apud Anglos tuos facile propagasti, e concione rudibus clamoribus in Catholicos et etiam hæreticos bacchando."

He then proceeds to prove the following propositions: "Usherus hæreticorum judicio indoctus. Usherus idiota. Usherus ursus. Usherus corniger." A difficulty, however, seems to strike him, how Ussher, if of so despicable a character, could have been promoted, and he is not without an answer, "Quamobrem vero, quæret aliquis, cum sis Anglorum tuorum judicio indoctus et imperitus, ab eis tantis honoribus es ornatus? Est in promptu causa. Quia tum tu maximus adulator, insigniter improbus, impudentissimus es: Evangelicam veritatem audacissime oppugnas: falsa sentis: divina et humana jura violare doces, fas atque nefas eodem animo ducis; tum Angli tui res præpostere æstimant, vitiis virtutum præmia proponunt, amplissimarum dignitatum sedes sapientissimis atque sanctissimis viris ademptas insipientibus atque flagitiosissimis attribuunt, ipsique cœci non luscum juxta proverbium, sed maxime cœcum ducem sequuntur."

These extracts will surely be sufficient to satisfy any person as to the value of the book. I must quote one story, which he tells gravely of the Archbishop. The story is briefly as follows: When James I. saw Ussher's work "De Anglicæ Religionis Continuatione," which he had appointed him to write, he was so shocked that he sent him away, and only recalled him to supply materials to Spalatensis, who was about to treat of the same subject. That Spalatensis found him "adeo garrulum, inertem, inutilem, solidaque doctrina destitutum;" that he ever afterwards called him "lequaculus," and that the English heretics considered his Apology against Father Francis Suarius so bad, that they would not let him publish it.

trine that are in controversy with the Church of Rome, and thus enables us to judge "whether of both sides hath departed from the religion of our ancestors." The inhabitants "of the greater and the lesser Scotland, that is of Ireland and the famous colony deduced from thence into Albania," he considers as the same people, and professing nearly the same religion with their neighbours the Britons.

The treatise is divided into eleven chapters. The first treats of the Holy Scriptures. For precepts enjoining their use upon the laity he quotes Sedulius, who lived in the fifth, and Claudian, who lived in the ninth century. And to prove these precepts were observed, among many others, he quotes Bede's account of Bishop Aidan, "that all who went in his company whether they were of the clergy or of the laity were tied to exercise themselves either in the reading of the Scriptures or in the learning of Psalms;" and also the account of Furseus and Kilianus (who lived in the seventh century), that "from the time of their very childhood they took care to learn the Holy Scriptures, whence it may easily be collected, that in those days it was not thought a thing unfit, that even children should give themselves unto the study of the Bible." He establishes the fact, that though the Latin translation was in use, yet reference was constantly made to the originals. Sedulius and other writers repeatedly maintain that the Greek of the New Testament is incorrectly rendered by the Vulgate. In the Old Testament they follow the translation of the Septuagint rather than the Vulgate. And as to the Apocryphal books, they do not follow the Romanists in their classification, nor do they mention them with more respect than many of the ancient Fathers, who expressly exclude them from the number of books to be considered as canonical.

The second chapter treats of Predestination, Grace, Mercies, Faith, Works, Justification, and Salvation. In this the Archbishop is more successful in proving that the writers did not hold the doctrines of the Church of Rome, than in establishing the theories of St. Augustine. There are passages in Sedulius and Claudius which seem to reject such an interpretation, and their real meaning is established by

the laborious attempt, which the Archbishop makes to force them into an agreement with the Calvinistic doctrine. The point, however, is established beyond controversy, that the doctrines put forward were entirely at variance with the Romish doctrines of modern times, with the doctrines of justification and merit as put forward by the Council of Trent. It must, however, be acknowledged, that though the grounds of sound doctrine had been truly settled at the beginning by Palladius and Patricius, the poison of the Pelagian heresy broke out among the Irish clergy two hundred years afterwards, as appears from the letter addressed by the clergy of Rome during the vacancy of the see, to which I have alluded before[u].

The third chapter treats of Purgatory. This the Archbishop naturally commences with a refutation of the fable of St. Patrick's Purgatory, and shows that Henry of Saltrey, who flourished about the middle of the twelfth century, is the first writer who speaks of its existence. As a proof that the doctrine of purgatory itself did not prevail in the early ages, he quotes the treatise "De tribus Habitaculis," generally attributed to St. Patrick, in which no mention whatever is made of such a place. "The three habitations under the power of Almighty God are the first, the lowermost, and the middle: the highest of which is called the kingdom of God or the kingdom of Heaven, the lowermost is termed Hell, and the middle is named the present world or the circuit of the Earth." To this authority is added an ancient Canon of one of the Irish synods, wherein it is affirmed, "the soul being separated from the body is presented before the judgment-seat of Christ, who rendereth its own unto it according as it hath done, and neither the Archangel can lead it unto life until the Lord hath judged it, nor the Devil transport it unto pain unless the Lord do damn it."

After bringing forward extracts from several Irish writers, the Archbishop concludes this part of his subject with a most important observation, that the prayers and oblations

[u] Supra, pag. 123.

for the dead mentioned by the early writers, "are expressly noted to have been made for them, whose souls were supposed at the same instant to have rested in bliss." To establish this he quotes Adamnanus, who wrote at the close of the seventh century, and relates, "That St. Colme (better known as St. Columb-kill) caused all things to be prepared for the sacred ministry of the Eucharist, when he had seen the soul of St. Brendan received by the holy angels," and that he did the same when Columbanus, Bishop of Leinster, departed this life; for, said he, "I must to day, although I be unworthy, celebrate the holy mysteries of the Eucharist for the reverence of that soul, which this night carried beyond the starry firmament betwixt the holy choirs of angels, ascended into Paradise." Various other passages he quotes from Bede and different authors, all proving "that an honorable commemoration of the dead was intended and a sacrifice of thanksgiving for their salvation rather than of propitiation for their sins."

The fourth chapter treats of the worship of God, the public form of Liturgy, the sacrifice and sacrament of the Lord's Supper. As to the worship of God, the authority of Sedulius alone is sufficient, who says, "to adore any other beside the Father and the Son and the Holy Ghost is the crime of impiety," and "all that the soul oweth unto God if it bestow it upon any beside God, it committeth adultery." He also reproves the wise men of the heathen, for thinking that they had found out a way "how the invisible God might be worshipped by a visible image," with which Claudius agrees, saying, that "God is to be known neither in metal nor stone." That the form of Liturgy varied in different parts of the country is placed beyond a doubt, by the preface of Gillibertus, the Pope's Legate, at the close of the eleventh century, to his book, "De Usu Ecclesiastico," addressed to the whole clergy of Ireland. He tells them he had composed the book "to the end that those diverse and schismatical orders, wherewith in a manner all Ireland is deluded, may give place to one Catholic and Roman office." The uniformity was completely established at the Council of Cashel, when it was ordered,

"that all divine offices of holy Church should from thenceforth be handled in all parts of Ireland according as the Church of England did observe them."

The Archbishop next proves that Mass was synonimous with public liturgy, and that the word was used even when prayers were said without the celebration of the Holy Communion. "So the last mass, that St. Colme was ever present at, is noted by Adamnanus to have been Vespertinalis Dominicæ noctis missa." However, the word was more specially applied to the administration of the Lord's Supper, and in Adamnanus the sacred ministry of the Eucharist, and the solemnities of the Mass, are taken for the same thing. The celebration of the Lord's Supper was then generally called the oblation of the healthful sacrifice, in the performance of which the minister was said to give, and the communicant to receive the sacrifice, as well as to offer it unto the Lord. Thus we read of offering the sacrifice unto God in the speech of Gallus to his scholar Magnoaldus: "My master Columbanus is accustomed to offer unto the Lord the sacrifice of salvation in brazen vessels:" of giving the sacrifice to man, as when it is said, in one of the ancient synods of Ireland, that "a Bishop by his testament may bequeath a certain proportion of his goods for a legacy to the priest that giveth him the sacrifice:" and of receiving the sacrifice from the hands of the minister, as in the sentence of the synod attributed unto St. Patrick, "He who deserveth not to receive the sacrifice in his life, how can it help him after his death." From these facts it appears, "that the sacrifice of the elder times was not like unto the new mass of the Romanists, wherein the priest alone doth all; but unto our communion, where others also have free liberty given unto them to eat of the altar as well as they that serve the altar." That the communion was received in both kinds the Archbishop proves by many quotations from Bede and other writers; perhaps one of the most remarkable is a legend of St. Bridget, one of whose miracles is reported, even in later Romish writers, to have been performed, when she was about to drink out of the chalice at the time of her receiving the Eucharist. It is

not possible to abridge the learned argument about transubstantiation, and it is not doing justice to the subject to make a selection from the numerous authorities which prove the doctrine was not maintained by the Irish Church. However, the comment of Sedulius upon the words of our Saviour, "Do this in remembrance of me," may be quoted with effect: "He left a memory of himself unto us, even as if one that was going a long journey should leave some token with him, whom he loved; that as oft as he beheld it, he might call to remembrance his benefits and friendships." To the same effect Claudius says: "Because bread doth confirm the body and wine doth work blood in the flesh; therefore the one is mystically referred to the body of Christ, the other to his blood." This primitive doctrine had for a length of time its defenders, in opposition to all the efforts of the Romish power. Thus, so late as the year 1384, Henry Crumpe, the monk of Baltinglass, maintained that "the body of Christ in the sacrament of the altar was only a looking glass to the body of Christ in Heaven."

The fifth chapter treats of Chrism, sacramental Confession, Penance, Absolution, Marriage, Divorces, and single Life of Clergy. That the Irish did not use chrism in the baptism of their children is placed beyond doubt, by a letter[v] of Archbishop Lanfranc to Terdelvacus, in which he complains of the omission. And, at a subsequent period, Bernard reports of Malachias, that he "introduced the most wholesome use of confession, which the Irish before were either ignorant of or did neglect." Marriage was certainly not a sacrament, for Sedulius reckons it among those things "which are gifts, but not spiritual." Indeed, there are but too good grounds for believing, that till a very late period marriage was very much neglected in Ireland, and the utmost freedom of divorce allowed or practised.

That the celibacy of the clergy was not enjoined is evident from the canon of the synod held by St. Patrick, Auxilius, and Iserninus, where it is ordered, "that their wives shall not walk with their heads uncovered." St. Patrick

[v] Epist. Hibern. Syllog. Ep. 28, Works, vol. iv. pag. 493.

himself was the son of a deacon, and the grandson of a priest. But perhaps the most decisive evidence is the letter of Pope Innocent the Third to his Cardinal Legate, Johannes Salernitanus, in which he commands him to abolish the custom prevalent in Ireland, whereby sons and grandchildren did use to succeed their fathers and grandfathers in their ecclesiastical benefices.

The sixth chapter treats of the discipline of the early monks, and abstinence from meats. In this the Archbishop proves the remarkable difference between the monks of early days in Ireland and the mendicant orders established under papal authority. He quotes the celebrated Richard, Archbishop of Armagh, who maintained at Avignon, in 1357, that "no man could prudently and holily take upon himself the perpetual observation of voluntary beggary; forasmuch as such kind of begging, as well by Christ as by his apostles and disciples, by the Church and by the Holy Scriptures, was both dissuaded and also reproved." Upon the point of difference of meats Claudius observed, that the children of wisdom do understand, that neither in abstaining nor in eating is there any virtue, but in contentedness of bearing the want, and temperance of not corrupting a man's self by abundance, and of opportunity of taking or not taking those things, of which not the use, but the concupiscence is to be blamed."

The seventh chapter treats of the Church and various states thereof, especially in the days of Antichrist: of miracles also, and of the Head of the Church. The early Irish writers certainly did not consider it necessary that miracles should be continued in the Church. Sedulius says, "faith having increased miracles were to cease; forasmuch as they are declared to have been given for their sakes that believe not;" and Claudius, "Now when the number of the faithful is grown, there be many within the holy Church, that retain the life of virtues and yet have not these signs of virtues; because a miracle is to no purpose shewed outwardly, if that be wanting, which it should work inwardly. For according to the saying of the Master of the Gentiles, languages are for a sign not to the faithful, but to infidels;"

and again, that "every miracle is vain which worketh not some profit unto man's salvation." Had these rules been observed, the lives of Irish saints would not have been filled with the monstrous fables which now disgrace them; they are not unjustly designated by the Archbishop as "lewd tales." As to the Head of the Church, the Irish writers agree in referring it to Christ, and repeatedly assert that the same supremacy which was granted to St. Peter over the churches of the Circumcision, was granted to St. Paul over the churches of the Gentiles; and that the power to bind and to loose, which our Saviour might seem to give to St. Peter alone, was given unto the rest of the Apostles, and has descended to every true priest.

The next chapter treats of the Pope's spiritual jurisdiction. Campion the Jesuit asserts, that "when Ireland first received Christendom, they gave themselves unto the jurisdiction, both spiritual and temporal, of the see of Rome." This the Archbishop proves to have been said "of the spiritual power untruly, of the temporal absurdly." It cannot be shewn out of any monument of antiquity, that the Bishop of Rome did ever send any legate to exercise spiritual jurisdiction, much less temporal, before Gillebertus, "quem aiunt prima functum legatione Apostolicæ sedis per universam Hiberniam," to use the words of no less an authority than St. Bernard, in his life of Malachias. The fable of Joceline, that St. Patrick had obtained a pall from Rome, he refutes by the evidence of St. Bernard, who distinctly asserts that "from the very beginning until his time the metropolitical see of Armagh wanted the use of the Pall." The evidence on this subject is so strong, that it seems difficult to imagine how any writer can have the hardihood[w] to controvert

[w] Dr. Milner has taken a view of the question different from any that had been adopted previous to the time of Ussher. He says that the granting of the palls was to free the Irish bishops from the metropolitan jurisdiction of the see of Canterbury. If any one will read the Life of Malachy by St. Bernard, he will find that the Archbishops of Armagh neither recognised the authority of the Pope nor the Archbishop of Canterbury, and exercised an authority which they never ventured to assume after the palls were sent from Rome.

They not only consecrated bishops, but they erected new bishoprics,

it, and it can be only controverted by a falsification of the ancient writers. As to the appointment of the bishops, Campion himself is obliged to acknowledge, that in Ireland the monarch had a negative on the nomination of the bishops. The dependence upon the Archbishop of Canterbury only extended as far as the three settlements of the Ostmans, Dublin, Waterford, and Limerick. These strangers wished to be considered as Romans, and not as Irish, and hence applied to the Roman Archbishop of Canterbury for consecration. The letter of the clergy and laity of Dublin to Ralph Archbishop of Canterbury, asking consecration for their newly elected bishop Gregory, gives abundant proof that this was not a general practice, but one most displeasing to the Irish bishops. In it is the following passage: "Know you for verity, that the bishops of Ireland have great indignation towards us, and that bishop most of all that dwelleth at Armagh: because we will not obey their ordination, but will always be under your government."

He next proceeds to show, that there is not any approved record of antiquity, from which it can be deduced, that visitations of the clergy were held in Ireland by the Pope's authority, or indulgences sought by the people at his hand. The documents brought forward usually to establish these points either are forgeries, or do not establish the facts. The quotations, if genuine, would go no further than to establish a profound respect for the Church of Rome, a respect in which the Archbishop fully coincides, but they do not prove that any perpetual privilege of infallibility was attached to that see; and the practice of the Irish clergy abundantly proves that they thought themselves at liberty to resist the decisions of the Roman Pontiff, even in cases where there was little cause for so doing.

and even an archbishopric, as they thought fit. It appears difficult for a Roman Catholic writer to dispute the authority of St. Bernard, "Mutabantur et multiplicabantur episcopi pro libitu Metropolitani, ita ut unus episcopatus uno non esset contentus, sed singulæ pene ecclesiæ singulos haberent episcopos."—*Bern. Vit. Malach.* And in the ancient legends it is to King Engus that the establishment of the archbishopric of Munster at Emly is attributed, and to King Brandubh the placing of the archbishopric of the whole province of Leinster at Ferns.

The question of Easter is then discussed. It is clearly proved that the Irish differed from the Romans in the time of celebrating Easter. The Romans observed the Sunday which fell between the fourteenth and the twenty-first day of the moon (both terms included) next after the twenty-first day of March, and they used the cycle of nineteen years. The Irish, with the Britons, kept Easter upon the Sunday which fell between the fourteenth and twentieth day of the month, and followed the cycle of eighty-four years. Pope Honorius first addressed letters to the Irish on the subject, and the southern part of the island conformed: forty years after the northern part followed the example.

The last subject of discussion is the temporal power of the Pope. The favorers of papal supremacy have produced three titles for the Pope's dominion over Ireland. The first is a special grant supposed to be made by the inhabitants of the country at the time of their first conversion to Christianity; the second is the right which the Pope challengeth to himself over all islands in general; and the third is the Treaty made by King John with the Pope. The first of these claims was invented by Polydore Virgil in the reign of Henry VIII., and is refuted at once by the Bull of Adrian, giving Ireland to Henry II., which lays claim to no such grant, but founds his right[x] upon the authority of the Pope over all islands. This strange title is founded upon the grant of Constantine, long since acknowledged to be a notorious forgery. And even if it were true, no more power is given by it to the Church of Rome over islands than in general over the whole Continent, and in particular over Judea, Greece, Asia, and Africa, which have not usually been considered part of St. Peter's temporal patrimony. It is scarcely necessary to add, that Constantine had himself no authority over Ireland, and, therefore, could

[x] "Sane omnes insulas, quibus sol justitiæ Christus illuxit, et quæ documenta fidei Christianæ susceperunt, ad jus S. Petri et sacrosanctæ Romanæ ecclesiæ (quod tua etiam nobilitas recognoscit) non est dubium pertinere."—*Bull. Adrian. IV. ad Henr. II. Ang. reg.*

not confer it upon another. As to the argument from the convention with John, it is dismissed as altogether unworthy of notice.

The Archbishop then gives an abstract of the history of Ireland, as concerned with the title of the King of England, and shows that it arose partly from conquest, partly from the submission of the bishops and clergy, followed by that of the kings and chieftains, and that the whole was confirmed by the authority of the Pope. He states that Ireland had always been considered as a kingdom, and ridicules the notion of Pope Paul IV. erecting it into one in the year 1555. To prove this point a remarkable story is narrated from the history of the Council of Constance. The ambassadors from the Kings of England and France disputed about precedency, and the English obtained their cause by quoting from Albertus Magnus, "that Europe was divided into four kingdoms, namely, the Roman for the first, the Constantinopolitan for the second, the third the kingdom of Ireland, which is now translated to the English, and the fourth the kingdom of Spain. Whereby it appeareth that the King of England and his kingdom are of the more eminent ancient kings and kingdoms of all Europe, which prerogative the kingdom of France is not said to obtain."

Such is a brief abstract of this remarkable work, a work which has been attacked in parts by several Roman Catholic writers, but has never received even a plausible answer. The facts, indeed, are so well attested and so conclusive, that but little room is left for cavil or sophistry. The very phraseology of the bull by which Adrian conferred Ireland on Henry II., is sufficient to prove the want of subjection to the papal see, and nothing is left for its supporters but the extravagant boldness of O Sullevan, asserting that the Pope never intended to confer the lordship of Ireland upon Henry, but only appointed him his deputy for the collection of the ecclesiastical tribute. It is no doubt true that Henry offered the yearly payment of a penny for each house, but it is nearly certain that was the first payment ever made to the Roman see by Ireland. There would be no more powerful argument with the Irish Roman Catho-

lics, to turn them from the error of their ways, than this appeal to the religion of their ancestors. Could they once be persuaded, that the religion of Ireland in the days of its saints and martyrs was unlike the modern creed of the Roman Catholic Church, the great charm which attaches them to their superstitious errors would at once be broken, and a new appearance given to the Reformed Church of their country. Whenever this happy consummation shall arrive, it must be remembered with gratitude that the first step was made by Archbishop Ussher, and that the attractive boast of antiquity was silenced by his accurate research and lucid argument.

Not long after another work was published in Dublin, "Veterum Epistolarum Hibernicarum Sylloge, quæ partim ab Hibernis, partim ad Hibernos, partim de Hibernis vel Rebus Hibernicis sunt conscriptæ." This collection of letters extends from the pontificate of Gregory the Great to the end of the twelfth century, and gives an interesting account of the ecclesiastical discipline and jurisdiction of the Irish Church during that period. Among the subjects treated of, the controversy about the celebration of Easter holds a prominent place, as the Irish Church had been accused of supporting the heresy of the Quartodecumans, and, though not guilty of their errors, yet could not, without long and protracted discussions, be brought over to adopt the practice of the Church of Rome. Much progress was made in settling this dispute, by the learned letter[y] of Cummianus Hibernus to Seginus the Abbot of Hy, written about the year 634, which the Archbishop found among the manuscripts of Sir Robert Cotton, with the title, "Epistola Cummiani directa Segino Abbati de disputatione Lunæ." In the preface to this valuable collection, which he has illustrated with learned notes, the Archbishop has put together various authorities, to prove that literary quiet and repose distinguished Ireland from the seventh to the tenth century. Bede mentions that from his country many of the nobles, and also of the middle classes, sought for instruction in

[y] See Epist. 11, Works, vol. iv. pag. 432.

Ireland, and that[s] the Irish nation was peaceable and most friendly to the English. "Erant," says Bede, "in Hibernia multi nobilium simul et mediocrium de gente Anglorum, qui tempore Finani et Colmani episcoporum, relicta insula patria vel divinæ lectionis vel continentioris vita gratia illo acceperunt. Et quidam quidem mox se monasticæ conversationi fideliter mancipaverunt: alii magis circumeundi per cellas magistrorum lectioni operam dare gaudebant. Quos omnes Scoti libentissime suscipientes, victum eis quotidianum sine pretio, libros quoque ad legendum et magisterium gratuitum præbere curabant." Several other writers are quoted to the same purpose, concluding with the following remarkable passage from Camden: "Anglo Saxones nostri illa ætate in Hiberniam tanquam ad bonarum literarum mercaturam undique confluxerunt: unde de vitis sanctis sæpissime in nostris scriptoribus legitur; Amandatus est ad disciplinam in Hiberniam."

Various passages are quoted to prove that Ireland was called Scotia until the end of the eleventh century. Alcuin speaks in one place of Willibrord, Archbishop of Utrecht, having been educated in Hibernia, and afterwards calls the seat of his education "Scotorum patria;" but perhaps the most remarkable passage is from the account of Sulgenus, Bishop of St. David's, written by his son. He describes Sulgenus as determining to visit Ireland, after the example of his fathers, for the sake of study; then as having been driven into Albania by contrary winds, and, after a residence of five years at length reaching the fields of the Scoti, and there devoting thirteen years to the reading of the Sacred Scriptures.

No subject has given occasion to more unfounded ridicule, than the claims of the Irish to a superiority of literary attainments in the dark ages, as they are usually called. The Scottish writers without hesitation claim for their country everything that is said of Scotia, utterly disregarding the testimony of all the ancient historians. No fact of

[s] "Gentem fuisse innoxiam et nationi Anglorum semper amicissimam." —*Bed. Eccles. Hist.* lib. iv. cap. 22.

early European history can be demonstrated with more certainty than the position of Archbishop Ussher, that up to the twelfth century Ireland was preeminently distinguished as Scotia. The English and other writers reject the narratives altogether, as fables invented by the monks of later times. It must be allowed that the injudicious zeal of many advocates has given a powerful support to this scepticism. These writers, animated with a desire to maintain the glory of their country, have drawn a picture of Ireland in remote times, such as would only suit the progress of civilization at the present day. In the warmth of their patriotism they have forgotten, that the testimonies with regard to learning in Ireland are only relative to the state of other European countries, and by attempting to establish an absolute quantity of literary knowledge utterly unattainable at the period in question, have drawn down the suspicion of forgery upon the whole narrative. What Archbishop Ussher maintained was, that Ireland enjoyed a greater reputation for learning than any other country; drew to its seminaries the students from England and the Continent; and spread over Europe a multitude of learned men, who attracted attention every where to the country of their birth and education. In the words of Selden: "The Irish a people antiently (according to the name of the Holy Island given[a] to Ireland) much devoted to and by the English much respected for their holiness and learning." No person can read with impartiality the ancient English historians, or even the brief extracts made by Archbishop Ussher, without acknowledging that a literary fame was attached to Ireland from the seventh to the twelfth century, far above that of all the surrounding nations. The extent of the instruction given at her seminaries it would not be difficult to ascertain, but that would involve a discussion unsuited to my present purpose. It, no doubt, would not come up[b] to the notions of literary excellence in these our days, yet per-

[a] Festo Avieno insula sacra dicta Hibernia.

[b] Those who hold in contempt the learning of this period ought to read Mr. Maitland's admirable "Essays on the Dark Ages."

haps it taught a patient diligence of investigation, and a laborious system of preparation, which might be profitably adopted instead of the railroad speed of modern education.

Some doubts may possibly be started as to the propriety of inserting this collection of letters among the works of the Archbishop. Their publication, however, seemed absolutely necessary, in order to render intelligible the preface and very valuable notes which must have been included in the works. If any further apology be required, it may be found in the interesting matter which those letters contain, affording information of the highest value to the student of early European history. The Archbishop certainly had planned a new edition of the Sylloge; there is preserved a copy in the library of Trinity College, Dublin, with corrections in his handwriting, and some notes with Bishop Bedell's name at the end of them: these have been inserted in the present edition.

At this period, if we are to give credit to the Presbyterian writers, Archbishop Ussher exerted himself not merely to grant their ministers toleration, but to countenance them in occupying parishes as their lawful incumbents, yet refusing to conform to the Liturgy. It is stated confidently, that when Bishop Echlin of Down suspended two remarkable Puritans, Blair and Livingston, Blair appealed to the Primate, who immediately desired the Bishop to relax his erroneous censure. The whole narrative is suspicious in the extreme. Bishop Echlin was a Scotchman, so liberal in his notions of episcopal authority, that when Blair came to him for admission into a benefice, with a request from Lord Claneboy to admit him on easy terms[c], as he was an

[c] The absurdity of Mr. Blair saying that the Bishop would impose no conditions, and that neither patron nor prelate could say that he had broken any condition to them, is thus ably exposed by Bishop Mant: "This is a perfect delusion. In conferring holy orders, a Bishop is personally nothing: he has nothing whatever to say or to do about conditions on his own account. He is the trustee, the representative, the minister, the organ of the Church: in her name he acts; his course of proceeding is prescribed by her, and he has promised and is pledged to faithfulness in following it. Thus he is appointed by the Church to confer episcopal ordination, and in so doing he is to conduct himself by lawful authority, and

enemy to episcopacy and an established Liturgy, the Bishop complied with his prejudices to such an extent, that he asked him to submit to ordination from the adjacent brethren, and "to let him come in among them in no other relation than a presbyter." When the Bishop could so far forget the duty he owed to the Church, of which he had been appointed an overseer, it must have been some very extraordinary violation of the laws of the land, which obliged him to come forward and silence those for whose sake he had ventured so much. That Archbishop Ussher should countenance what was too flagrant a breach of discipline for Bishop Echlin to pass over, is not within the limits of credibility. The account of his life, as given by Dr. Bernard, no friend of the Church, contradicts the assertion. Dr. Bernard states: "He[d] was a constant assertor and observer of the Liturgy of the Church of England to the last. In the Church it was (by his approbation) as duly observed by myself; we had there an organ and a quire, on Sunday the service was sung before him, as is used in Cathedrals in England. Anthems were sung very frequently, and often instead of a psalm before sermon. He came constantly to the Church in his episcopal habit and preached in it, and for myself (by his approbation) when I officiated I wore my surplice and hood, administered the communion, and at such occasions

according to the form of ordination which the Church has provided; he is to enforce on the candidate the duties which the Church requires, and to demand of him an acknowledgment of the conditions which the Church imposes; he is not 'to come in among others in no other relation than as a presbyter' among presbyters, an equal among equals, but he is to come prominently forward, a Bishop above presbyters, a superior above ministers of a lower order; he is not to see the candidate receive ordination from others, but he is himself to ordain him. The Bishop who should err from this line would betray his trust, compromise the Church's character, assume an unlawful power, break his promise, and forfeit his pledge of fidelity. Thus he would commit a grievous sin. And any person who should seduce, or tempt or encourage him to the commission would be a partaker of the sin; nor could he, by the supposed absence of a condition imposed by the Bishop, be held excused from observing the conditions virtually and implicitly imposed by the Church."—*Bp. Mant's Hist. of the Church of Ireland*, vol. i. pag. 455.

[d] Clavi Trabales, pp. 57, 58, 59.

preached in them also. And for all other administrations they were fully observed in each rite and ceremony according to the rubric of the Book of Common Prayer.—And for the Protestant inhabitants that were refractory in the northern parts of Ireland (where the Scotch had mingled with the English) he did his utmost to reclaim them in his provincial visitations, which I was a witness of, and employed by his directions among them for that end." And to the same effect Dr. Parr says: "Nor[e] was his care confined only to the conversion of the ignorant Irish papists; but he also endeavoured the reduction of the Scotch and English sectaries to the bosom of the Church, as it was by law established, conferring and arguing with divers of them, as well ministers as laymen, and showing them the weakness of those scruples and objections they had against their joyning with the publick service of the Church, and submitting to its government and discipline."

The very narrative itself contains many circumstances notoriously false. Mr. Blair says the cause of his appealing to Archbishop Ussher was his having previously known him; that five years before he had been introduced to him by Lord Claneboy, and had received a general invitation to his table. "But," says he, "having once met with the English liturgy there I left my excuse with my patron, that I expected another thing than formal liturgies in the family of so learned and pious a man. The Primate excused himself by reason of the great confluence that was there, and had the good nature to entreat me to come to Tredaff where his usual residence was." Blair goes to Drogheda, is greatly pleased with all he sees, and departs with an assurance from the Primate that it would break his heart, if the successful ministry of the Puritans in the North was interrupted. Here is the distinct assertion, that the Archbishop read the Liturgy only when he was in Dublin, exposed to the observations of many; yet Dr. Bernard, giving a detail of the arrangements of the house at Drogheda, states, that morning and evening prayers, acording to the Liturgy, were

[e] Parr's Life, pag. 39.

read every day, and that the Archbishop never failed to attend except prevented by illness: and he also adds, that there were no Protestants in Drogheda who scrupled at the use of the cross in baptism, or kneeling at the communion table, or the like, but "in[f] all things conformed to what they saw was approved by him." Now these were points upon which Blair held the very opposite opinions, and boasted of having convinced Lord Claneboy and others that sitting was the proper posture for receiving the communion. The first censure is said to have been inflicted in September, 1631, and in May, 1632, they were summoned before the Bishop and silenced, with two others. On this occasion it is reported that they again applied to the Primate, and that he declined interfering, because the Lords Justices had received orders from the King concerning them. Now, it is most probable, from a letter of Bishop Laud to Lord Strafford, that this interference of the Lords Justices was at the suggestion of the Primate, for Bishop Laud says: "I am commanded by his Majesty to send your Lordship a clause of a letter sent to me by the Lord Primate of Armagh, Mar. 1, 1632, at which time his princely pleasure was that your Lordship should assure the Lord Primate, that he would see the jurisdiction of the Church established there to be maintained against both recusants and other factionists whatsoever; and that you should do your best endeavour to stop all such rumours, as may dishearten the Bishops in God's service and his." This passage proves decisively that the Archbishop, so far from supporting, had applied for further powers to put down the Dissenters of the North. The whole narrative of Blair is remarkable for its self-sufficiency and arrogance. "It is not a little remarkable," observes Bishop Mant[g], "with what arrogant self-sufficiency these irregular ministers habitually speak of their own proceedings, frequently attributing their irregularities and lawlessness to a special divine interposition; and how continually they ascribe to the worst motives the

[f] Clavi Trabales, pag. 58.
[g] Hist. of Church of Ireland, vol. i. pag. 463.

conduct of the Bishops and other friends of the Church, who acted agreeably to their principles and engagements as episcopalians. Episcopacy and every thing connected with it appeared in their eyes and is represented in their writings as a sort of spiritual leprosy; and even their most favored Ussher could obtain from Mr. Livingston no better character than that of being 'a godly man though a bishop.'"

It is with great regret I am obliged to record the assistance, which the Primate gave to an arbitrary act violating the privileges of Trinity College, Dublin. On the 10th of July, 1632, a letter[h] was delivered to the Provost from the Lords Justices and the Primate, desiring him to admit William Newman to a fellowship. Newman was under the protection of Lord Chancellor Loftus, and was afterwards his domestic chaplain[i]. The Provost called upon the Fellows to advise what answer should be returned. "The opinion of the major part was, that in regard yielding of this desire were the breach of our statute form for election, and by reason of the statute which maketh him incapable who procureth letters in his behalf, satisfaction to their Lordships

[h] The letter was as follows: "After our hearty commendations, The testimonies which Mr. Newman Master in the Arts hath given of his abilities in learning hath prevailed with us to join in these our letters to you in his behalf. That by our mediation your favours may be so far extended to him, as to admit him a fellow of that house where he first became a scholar and continued so long as to have received his degree of Master: and because he did formerly sit for a fellowship there, and performed what in such cases are required with good satisfaction to that House as we are informed. And in regard if he should be put to sit for it a second time, it might in common construction be interpreted so as it might reflect upon him in his reputation beyond your intendment. And for that he hath already given good proof of his abilities, we therefore pray you that you will forthwith admit him into his Fellows place, according to his seniority, without putting him to any such second sitting for it, which we conceive will be a favour well placed, and such as we will accept in very good part at your hands, and will acknowledge with special thanks. And so we bid you heartily farewell: from his Maj. castle of Dublin

"Your very loving friends

"ADAM LOFTUS, Canc. R. CORKE.

"JA. ARMACHANUS.

"23 *June* 1632."

[i] See Commons' Journal, vol. i. pag. 232, June 11, 1641.

request could not be given without breach of our oath taken to have the statutes observed."

Newman, relying upon the interest which he possessed, proceeded immediately to London with the letter recommending him to the College, and an additional one from the Chancellor. He was not disappointed, but returned to Ireland, bringing with him the following mandamus from the King:

"CHARLES R.

"Trusty and well beloved, we greet you well. We are given to understand that William Newman a native of that country and Master of Arts, being qualified every way for his sufficiency and recommended both by our Lords Justices and the Primate of Armagh to a fellowship in your House: and for whose election both you the Provost and some others consented: only some that combined themselves to oppose Government opposed. We therefore resolving hereafter to have the proceedings of such opposers examined and censured as it shall deserve, do now require and command you according to the recommendation of our Justices and Primate, that you forthwith elect and admit the said William Newman to be a fellow of your House, wherein we expect your ready obedience. Given under our signet at our Court at Whitehall the 16 day of September in the 8th year of our reign.

"By his Majestys commandment

"J. COKE.

"*Provost & Fellows of Trinity College.*"

Mr. Newman was admitted by the Provost in compliance with this mandate. The interference of the Primate in this business seems very extraordinary. His signature was not necessary to give effect to the mandate of the Lords Justices, and as Vice-Chancellor of the University he ought to have resisted any encroachment upon its privileges. The resistance of the Fellows seems to have made a deep impression upon his mind, and in a letter to Archbishop Laud, written a year after, he describes the Fellows "as so fac-

tious, that nothing would please them which came from their superiors." If all the acts of their superiors were like the forcing Mr. Newman upon them, their resistance was highly meritorious, and reflects great credit upon their disinterestedness and courage.

The next year was remarkable for two events closely connected with the future life of the Archbishop, the arrival of Lord Strafford in Ireland, and the appointment of Bishop Laud to the archiepiscopal see of Canterbury. The first request of Bishop Laud to the Lord Deputy respecting the Church, was to assist the Primate in his efforts to recover the impropriations for the Church: "I[k] humbly pray your Lordship, that in the great cause of the impropriations which are yet remaining in his Majestys gift and which he is most graciously willing to give back to God and his service, you will do whatsoever may justly be done for the honour and service of our two great masters, God and the King, that you would countenance and assist the Lord Primate of Armagh in all things belonging to this great service: and particularly for the procuring of a true and just valuation of them, that the King may know what he gives the Church. I pray, my Lord, be hearty in this, for I shall think myself very happy, if God be pleased to spare my life to see this business ended."—"I further pray your Lordship to take notice by the Lord Primate of Armagh, of the readiness of the Lord Chief Justice[l] of Ireland to set forward the maintenance of the ministers in that kingdom, and to encourage him to advance the same. As also to move the Lord Chief Justice for his opinion, what legal course he shall think fittest may be held for the present means of Curates out of the impropriations[m] in Ireland; which I am credibly in-

[k] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 82.

[l] Sir George Shurley, Knt.

[m] The first person who appears to have considered the state of the impropriations was Lord Chancellor Weston. He drew out a plan for restoring them to their proper use, which he intended to have presented to Queen Elizabeth, but death prevented him, and the manuscript was lost. In the year 1620 Dr. Ryves dedicated to King James a work called "The poore Vicars Plea," in which he proves clearly, that by the ecclesiastical laws which were in force at the time of the dissolution of abbeys in the reign

formed his Lordship is very able and willing to give." The exertions of the Archbishop in the case of Sir John Bathe have already been mentioned, and he procured "a grant[n] of a patent from his Majesty to be passed in his own name, although for the use of the Church, of such impropriations belonging to the Crown as were then leased out, as soon as they should fall; which though it did not succeed, being too much neglected by those who were concerned more immediately, yet it sufficiently shews my Lord's pious intentions in this matter." The Presbyterian writers are most anxious to show that the affairs of the Irish Church were carried on by Lord Strafford and Bishop Laud, in direct opposition to the wishes of Archbishop Ussher. It is only necessary, however, to read the letters which passed between these distinguished individuals, in order to ascertain that the utmost cordiality existed between them. Lord Strafford and Bishop Laud certainly expressed their regret that firmness of character was not to be found in Archbishop Ussher, but in one of his earliest letters Lord Strafford says: "To[o] my Lord Primate (as I take it) I have given so good satisfaction, as his Lordship is well informed in his Majesty's purposes and ways concerning matters of religion, and tells me, it is shame for them when Ezekias and Josias call upon them for the performance of these duties." And the Primate, in a letter to Archbishop Laud, says: "Upon[p] the arrival of the Lord Deputy, I found him very honorably affected toward me and very ready to further me, as in other things that concerned the Church, so particularly in that which did concern the settlement of the lands belonging to the archbishoprick of Armagh."

The Primate, taking advantage of the favorable disposi-

of Henry VIII., the bishops had full power, within their several dioceses, to allot so much of the tithes as would serve for the maintenance of a minister, and that the same laws stand in full force, uncontrolled by any Statute of either kingdom. However impropriations still remain; in some parishes there is no allowance whatever for the vicar, in many others an allowance of £5.

[n] Parr's Life, pag. 41. [o] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 173.

[p] Letter 184, Works, vol. xv. pag. 572.

tion which the Lord Deputy had evinced towards him, obtained a commission for inquiring into the lands belonging to the see, and "took his journey (though in an unseasonable time of the year) into the northern parts of the kingdom." Such is the mode in which he describes proceeding from Dublin to Armagh in the month of September. He took advantage of his residence at Armagh to solemnize the translation of the Bishop of Raphoe[r], and to consecrate the Bishop of Ardagh[s] in the cathedral church of Armagh, "where no such act had been performed within the memory of any man living." These circumstances the Primate states, in a letter to Archbishop Laud, as an excuse for not sooner congratulating him on his promotion, which he does with all the warmth of a sincere friend and admirer. The high opinion which he entertained of Archbishop Laud induced him to exert all the interest he possessed, to have him appointed to the Chancellorship of the University of Dublin, vacant by the death of Archbishop Abbot. He says: "I advised them to pitch upon none other but yourself, which they did with all readiness and alacrity." Archbishop Laud did not wish to hold the office, and wrote to Lord Strafford: "As[t] for the College I am very sorry they have chosen me Chancellor, and if they will follow the directions I have given them by my Lord Primate, I hope they will send me a resignation, that I may give it over

[r] John Lesley, Bishop of the Isles, was translated to Raphoe in the year 1633. This distinguished prelate evinced his loyalty to his Sovereign in the most remarkable manner. His castle at Raphoe was the last which held out against Oliver Cromwell. Nor was his zeal for the Church less distinguished. He exercised his pastoral functions during the Commonwealth, and, though prosecuted by the ruling powers, persevered in holding occasional confirmations and ordinations in Dublin. He lived to see the Restoration, and such was his anxiety to welcome his monarch, that, though very far advanced in years, he rode from Chester to London in twenty-four hours. He was in 1661 translated to Clogher, and when he died in 1671, was said to be the oldest bishop in the world, having been consecrated fifty years before. This prelate was father of the celebrated Charles Lesley.

[s] John Richardson was consecrated Bishop of Ardagh on the resignation of Bishop Bedell.

[t] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 213.

and your Lordship be chosen, being upon the place and able to do them much good." Archbishop Ussher wrote a second letter[u] to Archbishop Laud, urging upon him the necessity of his taking the office of Chancellor, in order to preserve the College, and gives a lamentable account of the disorders then prevalent. He speaks of the factious spirit of the Fellows, and states that nothing will restore order except the removal of the Provost, "who is of too soft and gentle a disposition to rule so heady a company," and the enactment of new Statutes[v], which would confer increased powers upon the Provost. It must have been very painful to the Archbishop to advise the removal of Provost Ussher, as he was not only his relative, but had been recommended expressly by himself for the situation. Both the recommendations of Archbishop Ussher were carried into effect. Some years elapsed before the new Statutes were given to Trinity

[u] This and the former letter are dated in Dr. Parr's collection 1632, but this is evidently a mistake. I have changed their place, and placed them between those of August and December, 1633, as Lord Strafford landed in Dublin on the 25th of July, 1633, and Archbishop Laud was translated to Canterbury in the following September.

[v] Dr. Reid, in his History of the Presbyterians, vol. i. pag. 167, has represented the removal of Provost Ussher, and the enactment of new Statutes for Trinity College, as a deliberate plan arranged between Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford, for the purpose of establishing Arminianism in Ireland. He says, in allusion to Lord Strafford's complaints of the state of the College: "This disorderliness, it is more than probable, consisted solely in the leaven of puritanism which had existed in this seminary from its foundation." The Provost "was related to the Primate and entertained the same sentiments with his predecessors and his illustrious kinsman on the doctrinal points on which the Church was divided. The College thus governed had of course exercised considerable influence in forming the minds of the Irish clergy and rendering them averse to the innovations of Laud. Until this influence should be entrusted to other hands it was evidently impossible to effect any extensive or permanent alteration of the national faith. A change, therefore, both in the Provost and the Statutes, became necessarily a part of Wentworth's plan of reformation." Now this gross misstatement was not the result of ignorance. Dr. Reid had before him the documents which proved every insinuation false. Archbishop Ussher's statement of "the disorderliness" of the College is much stronger than Lord Strafford's, and he is so convinced of the unfitness of his kinsman, that he recommends the removal of the man whom he had actually himself placed in the Provostship. As

College, but the Provostship was almost immediately vacated, by the removal of Dr. Ussher to the archdeaconry of Meath. He was subsequently promoted to the bishopric of Kildare. The person recommended by Archbishop Laud to Lord Strafford was William Chappell, Dean of Cashel, and the Lord Deputy took effectual means to secure his election. He thus describes them: "I went to the College myself, recommended the Dean to the place, told them I must direct them to chuse the Dean, or else to stay until they should understand his Majesty's pleasure, and in no case to chuse any other. They are all willing, so as on Thursday next he will be Provost, and your Grace shall not need to trouble the King about it." The election of Mr. Chappell was certainly disagreeable to Archbishop Ussher, and, whether by his interference[w] or not, several months elapsed before the new Provost was sworn into office.

to the Statutes, the defects of the existing Statutes had been pointed out many years before by Archbishop Abbot; see Letter 11, vol. xv. pag. 72. Bishop Bedell drew up a new code of Statutes while he was Provost, which received indeed the consent of the Fellows, but was rendered incomplete by the original charter of Queen Elizabeth. And Archbishop Ussher, in his letter requesting Archbishop Laud to accept the office of Chancellor, when he uses the strong language, "miserere domus labentis," mentions, as the first step to amendment in the College, the revision of the Statutes. Thus unfounded is the charge, that the alteration was a plan to get rid of puritanical Statutes. The new Statutes subsequently drawn up by the Chancellor are modelled upon those arranged by Bishop Bedell, and it would be difficult indeed to discover in the alterations any leaning towards Popery. I have already been obliged to notice the misstatements of Dr. Reid, and regret to say further occasions will hereafter occur. A fair history of Presbyterianism is still a desideratum. Dr. Reid's history must take its place beside Neal's History of the Puritans, and seems deserving of equal credit with its precursor. Dr. Reid states, that "while sectarian bigotry is the offspring of pride and ignorance, true wisdom and genuine piety are ever characterized by candour and charity." It is not very difficult to answer the question, whether his account of the conduct of Strafford and Laud to the University of Dublin, be characterized by candor and charity or by sectarian bigotry.

[w] Chappell himself attributed it to Ussher. He has left an account of his own life in Latin verse (published by Hearne, in the fifth vol. of Leland's Collectanea), and in this he plainly intimates the cause:

"Augusti initio deferor Dublinium,
Præpositus eligor; nec admittor tamen

In the letter of congratulation to Archbishop Laud already alluded to, reference was made to a transaction which attracted considerable attention, the erection of a monument by the Earl of Cork in St. Patrick's cathedral. The Earl of Cork had, with the consent of the Dean and Chapter of St. Patrick's, erected a monument to the memory of his wife at the east end of the cathedral, and had agreed to pay for the erection of a screen, which should separate it from the choir, and form a place for the communion table. The approbation of the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin had also been obtained. An account of this transaction had been forwarded to Laud when Bishop of London, but no steps seem to have been taken about it until the arrival of Lord Strafford. This delay made Lord Cork consider Lord Strafford as the individual who complained of the monument[x], an opinion which was one of the causes that influenced him to prosecute the Lord Deputy with such hostility, and become a principal agent in effecting his death. Archbishop Ussher's defence for giving his consent is very strange; he says: "The place wherein it is erected was an ancient passage into a chappel within that church, which hath time out of mind been stopped up with a partition

Ad regimen. Ita quidem voluit. Injuriam
Ignoscat ipsi hanc Deus et innumerabiles.
Nono sequentis Februarii die
(Tandem expiato crimine haud visendi eum
Quum rus abiret) recipior. Recolligo
Me; tum minime omisso oportebat esse animo."

It seems scarcely credible that the Archbishop could have carried his resentment so far, merely because the Provost elect did not wait upon him, yet it may be observed, that the first step Bedell took on coming to Ireland was to proceed immediately to Drogheda, where the Primate then was.

[x] Archbishop Laud mentions the rumors to Lord Strafford: "I had almost forgotten to tell you that all this business about demolishing my Lord of Cork's tomb is charged upon you as if it were done only because he will not marry his son to my Lord Clifford's daughter, and that I do it to join with you; whereas the complaint came against it to me out of Ireland and was presented by me to the King before I knew that your Lordship was named for Deputy there. But jealousies have no end."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 211.

made of boards and lime. I remember I was present when the Earl concluded with the Dean to allow thirty pounds for the raising of another partition betwixt this new monument and the Quire, wherein the ten commandments might be fairly written: which if it were put up, I see not what offence could be taken at the monument; which otherwise cannot be denied to be a very great ornament to the church." How the monument could be an ornament to the church, if it were to be enclosed between the east end and this partition, is not very easily understood; but, waiving this question, the very fact of such a partition becoming necessary proves, that the monument ought not to have been erected in that place. It certainly was near the passage into the Lady's Chapel, but then the monument was not in the ancient passage, but against the wall which separated the choir from the Lady's Chapel. Archbishop Laud, in his answer to the Earl of Cork, accurately describes the place "where[y] the high altar stood and where the communion table should now stand[z]." Lord Cork wrote

[y] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 222. The description seems most cautiously worded, yet Dr. Leland, in his History of Ireland, vol. iii. pag. 11, says, "that it took up the place of what the prelate of Canterbury affected to call the GREAT ALTAR." This is a falsification of quotation for which there is no excuse. I should be sorry to defend all that Archbishop Laud did or wrote, I am ready to admit his errors, and lament his faults, but I cannot avoid remarking upon the utter recklessness of truth which has distinguished the attacks upon this Prelate from the days of Prynne to the present. "To this day," says Mr. Southey, "those who have inherited the opinions of the Puritans repeat with unabated effrontery the imputations against him, as if they had succeeded to their implacable temper and their hardihood of temper also." (*Book of the Church*, vol. ii. pag. 437).

[z] Archbishop Laud concludes his letter to the Earl of Cork with great severity and equal truth: "Your Lordship will I hope give me leave to deal freely with you, and then I must tell your Lordship, if you have done as you wrote, you have suffered strangely for many years together by the tongues of men, who have often and constantly affirmed, that you have not been a very good friend to the Church in the point of her maintenance. I hope these reports are not true, but if they be, I cannot account your works charitable, having no better foundation than the livelihood of the Church taken away to do them." The ravages which this mighty Earl had committed upon the property of the Church were very extensive. His great attempt was purchasing the College of Youghal on a doubtful

an elaborate letter to Archbishop Laud, defending the situation of the monument, and detailing the improvements he had made in the cathedral; one of these is most quaintly worded, and gives a melancholy picture of the Irish churches: "Where there was then but an earthen flower at the upper end of the Chancell, which was often overflowne, I raysed the same three steps higher, making the staires of hewen stone, and paving the same throughout whereon the communion table now stands very dry and gracefully." The Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin wrote letters in favor of the Earl, but the determination of Archbishop Laud was not to be shaken, and he procured a King's letter to be issued, authorizing an investigation. This was held, and Lord Strafford thus describes the conclusion of this affair, which had attracted so much notice, and was destined to attract still more: "The[a] two Archbishops and himself with four other Bishops and the two Deans and Chapters were present, when we met, and made them all so ashamed that the Earl desires he may have leave to pull it down without reporting further into England[b]."

title, and then endeavouring to obtain a grant of it from his brother, the Bishop of Cork, Cloyne, and Ross, at that time Warden of the College. Lord Strafford summoned him before the High Court of Castle Chamber, where he forced him to abide his arbitration, and then awarded that he should pay £15,000 to the King for the issues of thirty-five years, and that all the appendant advowsons should be seized for the Crown. This was not the only occasion on which Lord Strafford forced him to give up his ill-gotten possessions. Lord Strafford, in March, 1634, writes thus: "No longer since than this term a poor vicar was restored to an impropriation and two vicarages usurped there thirty years and better by the Earl of Corke, we put him in possession, the case in good faith very clear, and now the Earl pretendeth to bring the tryal of the right to the Common Law, when your Lordship may judge what good measure the man may expect from a Jury against the Earl."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 380. And Dr. Bramhall states, "that the Earl of Cork holds the whole Bishoprick of Lismore at the rent of 40*s.* or five marks by the year."—*Letter to Archbishop Laud.* The Earl of Cork, in his Diary, says, that Lord Strafford prejudiced him no less than £40,000 in his personal estate, and in his inheritance 2000 marks a year.

[a] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 298.

[b] The monument was subsequently placed on the south side of the chancel, where it still remains, and forms a considerable impediment to the

The next important business that occurred was one, in which the Primate was more immediately concerned, namely, the determination of the question of precedence between the archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, which became now particularly necessary, as Parliament was about to be summoned. This dispute had been of very ancient date, and had been renewed by Archbishop Bulkeley against Primate Hampton, and subsequently against Primate Usher. The dispute commenced in the year 1182, when John Comyn, the first English Archbishop of Dublin, obtained a Bull from Pope Lucius III., "that following the authority of the sacred canons, no archbishop or bishop, should, without the assent of the Archbishop of Dublin (if in a bishoprick within his province), presume to celebrate any synod, or handle any causes or ecclesiastical matters of the same diocese, unless enjoined thereto by the Roman Pontiff or his legate." From this period to that of the Reformation, there was a continued succession of contests between the rival archbishops, and each, as his interest prevailed at Rome, or in London, obtained a Bull or a King's Letter in his favour. Archbishop Alan, who held the see of Dublin in the middle of the sixteenth century, and had many disputes with Archbishop Cromer of Armagh, states, that he read in the registry at Rome a decree of Pope Innocent VI., that both the archbishops should be Primates, but, for the sake of distinction, the Archbishop of Armagh should style himself Primate of all Ireland, and the Archbishop of Dublin Primate of Ireland, after the example of Canterbury and York. It seems strange that this decree should not have been known for 180 years, and it is most certain that it did not settle the controversy even at the time when it is said to have been made.

At the Reformation the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin took opposite sides, Archbishop Dowdal strenuously opposing the introduction of the English Liturgy, and Archbishop Browne, with not less zeal and much more ability, exerting himself to expose the errors of Popery. These

restoration of the cathedral, as it has stopped up some of the arches, and is so very high, that there is no other place where it can be erected.

circumstances caused Edward VI. to issue letters patent conferring the Primacy upon Archbishop Browne and his successors. Upon the accession of Mary, Archbishop Browne was compelled to surrender his patent, and in the year 1553 letters patent passed the Great Seal, restoring the Primacy to the see of Armagh: "We restore the primacy of all Ireland which your predecessors beyond the memory of man have been known to have held; and we confirm to you for ever the same, commanding that all other Archbishops and Bishops shall pay obedience to the Primates in the exercise of the Primatial office." During the reign of Elizabeth no dispute occurred. Archbishop Loftus, while in possession of the see of Armagh, took precedence, and yielded it when he was translated to Dublin. Archbishop Jones, indeed, took precedence[c], because he was Lord Chancellor of Ireland, but the claim for the see was not renewed till Archbishop Bulkeley succeeded. On the 8th of February, 1626, Charles directed letters to the Lord Deputy Falkland and the Privy Council to examine into, and finally determine the question of precedence between the two prelates. Nothing, however, appears to have been done until the month of June, 1634, a short time before the meeting of Parliament, when Lord Strafford summoned the two Archbishops before the Council, and heard the cause for two days. Mac Mahon states that Archbishop Bulkeley exerted himself to the utmost, attended by a number of lawyers, "causidicorum turba stipatus." Archbishop Ussher drew up the statement[d] in defence of the privileges of his see, and obtained a decision[e] in favor of the precedence of

[c] See before, pag. 39.

[d] The statement actually made is, it is believed, still preserved among the manuscripts of Trinity College. The argument is in the Archbishop's handwriting, and is printed in the Appendix No. VI. p. cxxix.

[e] The decision is as follows:

"WENTWORTH.

"Whereas the Kings most excellent Majesty by his Letters of the 8th of July, in the second year of his Highness's reign, directed to the Lord Deputy of this Kingdom, and to the Chancellour, and Keeper of the Great Seal, to the Chief Governour, or Governours of this Kingdom, which for the time should be, and to all other his Highness's Officers, and Ministers here, to whom it shou'd, or might in any wise appertain, was graciously

Armagh. The justice of this decision was strongly impugned by Talbot, the titular Archbishop of Dublin, and he attri-

pleased to take notice of a contention between the late Lord Primate, and the now Lord Archbishop of Dublin touching Precedency, and therein declar'd his Royall pleasure, and accordingly requir'd the Lord Deputy, and Councill here, to take due examination of the said difference viewing the Records, and hearing what wou'd be produc'd, and alledg'd on either side, and thereupon to sett down order for the speedy, and final ending of the same, that so the scandal arising upon such unseemly contention betwixt Prelats might be avoided, whereof nothing had been hitherto done in execution of his Majestie's commandment.

"And whereas his Majesty having in his High Wisdom, found reason to call a Parliament in this Kingdom, which is to be assembled the fourteenth day of July next, wherein as well the now Lord Primate the Lord Archbishop of Armagh, as also the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, must necessarily have many occasions to meet as well in the Parliament House, as in the Convocation House, and otherwise, and forasmuch as we hold it fitt, that before the publick meetings, there shou'd be an end put to that controversy to avoid the scandal, which may otherwise arise thereupon.

"We therefore by virtue of his Majesty's said Letter, called both the said Archbishops before us at this Board, where we have two several days taken due examination of the difference, and view'd the Records, and heard what wou'd be produc'd, and alledg'd on either side: Upon debate whereof, it appear'd as well by the testimony of Bernard, in the life of Malachias, as by the old Roman Provincialls and divers other evidences, that the See of Armagh hath from all antiquity been acknowledg'd to be the prime See of the whole Kingdom, and the Archbishop thereof reputed not a Provinciall Primate (as the other three Metropolitan are) but a National, that is to say, the sole Primate of Ireland, properly so called, which title hath hitherto in such a peculiar manner been attributed unto him, that he is thereby still vulgarly known, and distinguish'd from all the rest of the Archbishops of the land.

"And whereas in latter times, George Brown, Archbishop of Dublin had by sinister practice procur'd letters from King Edward the Sixth, for the transferring of the dignity of the Primacy of all Ireland from the See of Armagh to the See of Dublin, it appeared out of the Rolls of the Chancery that (complaint being thereof made by George Dowdall, Archbishop of Armagh), he did surrender the same, and upon the cancelling thereof, new Letters Patents issued under the Great Seal, bearing date the 12th day of March, in the first year of Queen Mary, wherein first it is declar'd, that the Archbishops of Armagh, since beyond the memory of man had enjoy'd the Dignity, and stile of the Primates of all Ireland: Secondly, both the Office and Title of the Primacy of all Ireland is restored, and confirmed to them for ever: Thirdly all other Archbishops, and Bishops are commanded to answer, and obey them in the exercise of said Office of Primacy.

"It was further also made manifest that in the succeeding days of Queen Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Dublin, (so long as he was not Keeper

buted it to the high favor[f] in which Archbishop Ussher stood with Strafford, while, as we have already seen, the Presbyterian writers endeavour to prove that Archbishop Laud and Strafford were doing every thing to diminish the influence of Ussher, and establish Arminianism and Popery in Ireland.

of the Great Seal, or Chancellour) both at the Councill Board, and in the execution of the high Commission for Causes Ecclesiastical (even for such things, as did properly concern the Diocess of Dublin itself), did constantly subscribe after the Archbishop of Armagh, and Lastly as in the body of the Statute for the Erections of free Schools, in Parliament held at Dublin the twelfth year of Queen Elizabeth, the Archbishop of Armagh is nominated before the Archbishop of Dublin, so at the Parliament held at the same place in the seven and twentieth year of the said Queen of Famous Memory, where all the Archbishops and Bishops are rank'd in their order, Armagh was set down in the first place, and Dublin in the second, as the Parliament Roll exhibited unto us did most plainly testify.

"Upon all which, we conceive it to be very fit, and just, and accordingly do Order, Judge, and Decree, That the said Lord Archbishop of Armagh, and his Successors for ever, shall from time to time, and at all times hereafter, take place, and have Precedency, and be rank'd and inserted before the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, and his Successors, as well in the Parliament as in the Convocation-house, and in all other Meetings, and in all Commissions, and other Things whatsoever upon all occasions, wherein they shall be mentioned, either together, by themselves, or with others, and in all places, as well within the Diocese or Province of Dublin, as otherwise, until upon better matter to be shew'd on the part of the Lord Archbishop of Dublin, than hath hitherto been shew'd by him, it shall be adjudg'd otherwise by his Majesty or by this Board: Whereof we require as well the said Lord Archbishop of Dublin, as his Successors, and all others whom it may concern, from time to time to take notice, and to yield obedience thereunto accordingly.

"Given at her Majestys Castle of Dublin the six and twentieth day of June 1634."

At the same time it was determined, that the Archbishop of Armagh should have precedence of the Lord Chancellor, and in this respect be put upon an equality with the Archbishop of Canterbury.

[f] "Quia imperiosi Proregis Straffordi tanta fuit in Usserum propensio, ac contra Buckleanas partes pertinacia, tanta in consiliariis meticulosis ac illiteratis Proregi submissio, tanta adulatio ac linguæ Latinæ inscitia (unum si excipias Rapotensem, hunc vero minime competentem judicem fateberis, utpote Armacani suffraganeum) ut contra publica Cancellariæ monumenta, et clarissimam D. Bernardi mentem, contra sententiam latam tempore Regis Jacobi, imo contra praxim ejusdem temporis iniquum fuerit decretum pro sede Armacana promulgatum."—*Primat. Dublin.* pag. 22.

The dispute thus settled in the Church of Ireland, was renewed by the titular bishops of the Roman Catholic Schism. Bishop Plunket published in 1672 a treatise with the title, "Jus Primatiale," which was answered by Bishop Talbot in a tract entitled, "Primatus Dubliniensis, vel summa Rationum, quibus innititur Ecclesia Dubliniensis in possessione, et prosecutione sui Juris ad Primatum Hiberniæ." The best treatise upon the subject was published in 1728 by Hugh Mac Mahon[g], Roman Catholic Archbishop in Armagh. He has exhausted the subject, and given a much more complete defence of the rights of the see than Archbishop Ussher[h].

A short time before this judgment was passed, Archbishop Ussher had consecrated Dr. John Bramhall Bishop of Derry. This distinguished ecclesiastic had been brought over to Ireland by Lord Strafford, and had been employed by him in the royal visitation of Ireland: but it does not appear whether he was one of the commissioners, that he was the chief director of the visitation is certain. His biographer, Bishop Vesey, says: "He was either one of his Majesties commissioners with Baron Hilton, Judge of the Prerogative, or such a Coadjutor that all was governed by his direction." The lamentable description he gave of the state of the Church, both as to spirituals and to temporals, belongs more to the general history of Ireland than to the Life of Archbishop Ussher, and I must proceed to give an account of the meeting of the Convocation in 1634.

[g] The title of the work is "Jus Primatiale Armacanum in omnes Archiepiscopos, Episcopos, et universum Clerum totius Regni Hiberniæ, assertum per H. A. M. T. H. P." that is, Hugonem Armacanum Metropolitanum Totius Hiberniæ Primatem.

[h] Mac Mahon states that the question had been finally settled at Rome: "Quibus utrinque æqua lance perpensis in sacro cœtu Cardinalium SS. Congregationis de propaganda fide, Secretarius Baldescus Archiepiscopus Cæsareæ, postea Cardinalis Colonna pronunciavit, *L'Armacano sta a cavallo*, id est, Armacani rationes prævalere. Aliquanto post utriusque partis iterum ventilatis accurate monumentis, et præmissa (ut consuevit) matura deliberatione SS. Congregatio, approbante Summo Pontifice, inseri mandavit officio S. Patricii ad 17. diem Martii hæc verba, *Armacanam sedem Romani Pontificis authoritate totius insulæ principem Metropolitanum constituit.*"—*Jus Primat.* pag. 21.

At the commencement of the year 1634 the Lord Deputy addressed two letters, one to the King, detailing his reasons for wishing to call a Parliament, the other to the Archbishop of Canterbury, putting forward the lamentable state of the Church, and the necessity of establishing its agreement in doctrine and discipline with the Church of England. His Majesty consented, writing to Lord Strafford: "Upon these reasons alledged by you, and the confidence which we have, that you have well weighed all the circumstances mentioned by you, or otherwise necessary to the calling of a Parliament; and especially relying upon your faith and dexterity in managing so great a work for the good of our service; we are fully persuaded to condescend to the present calling of a Parliament, which accordingly we authorize and require you to do, and therein to make use of all the motives you here propound." The Lord Deputy considered the state of the Church so deplorable, that it was useless to attempt introducing a conformity in religion with England, until "the[i] decays of the material churches be repaired and an able clergy be provided." The Archbishop of Canterbury in reply most wisely recommends that he should set about "the repair of the material and spiritual church together." The Lord Deputy took the advice, and set about the two important amendments vigorously. He complains that he "finds[k] all men utterly ignorant in the orders and forms to be observed in the meetings and sittings of Parliaments," and he requests that the Secretary will send him over all the necessary forms. The arrangements were made according to these forms, and writs issued for summoning a Convocation similar to those

[i] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 187.

[k] Nothing can be more melancholy than his statement: "An unlearned clergy, which have not so much as the outward form of churchmen to cover themselves with, nor their persons any way reverenced or protected; the churches unbuilt; the parsonage and vicarage houses utterly ruined; the people untaught thorough the non-residency of the clergy, occasioned by the unlimited shameful numbers of spiritual promotions with cure of souls, which they hold by commendams; the rites and ceremonies of the church run over without all decency of habit, order or gravity, in the course of their service; the possessions of the church to a

made use of in England. On the 14th of July the Parliament assembled, and in great state proceeded with the Lord Deputy to St. Patrick's Cathedral, where the Archbishop of Armagh preached before them on the text, "The sceptre shall not depart from Judah nor a lawgiver from between his feet, until Shiloh come, and to him shall the gathering of the people be." On the meeting of the Convocation Dean Lesley was chosen Prolocutor of the Lower House. The great difficulty which presented itself was the supposed attachment of the Primate to the Articles of 1615, which were principally, if not entirely drawn up by him. Lord Strafford says, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury: "It[l] is true my Lord Primate seemed to disallow these articles of Ireland but when it comes to the upshot, I cannot find he doth it so absolutely as I expected. Some little trouble there hath been in it, and we are all bound not to advertise it over, hoping among ourselves to reconcile it." The Archbishop in answer says: "I[m] knew how you would find my Lord Primate affected to the articles of Ireland, but I am glad the trouble that hath been in it will end there without advertising it over to us." Lord Strafford's determination, which received the approbation of the King and the Archbishop of Canterbury, was "to[n] have the articles of England received *in ipsissimis verbis*, leaving the other as no ways concerned in the state they now are, either affirmed or disaffirmed." Some letters of the Lord Deputy have been lost, which would throw considerable light upon the proceedings, that took place before the open-

great proportion in lay hands; the Bishops aliening their very principal houses and demesnes to their children, to strangers; farming out the jurisdictions to mean and unworthy persons; the Popish titulars exercising the whilst a foreign jurisdiction much greater than theirs. The schools which might be a means to season the youth in virtue and religion, either ill provided, ill governed in the most part, or which is worse applied sometimes underhand to the maintenance of Popish schoolmasters. Lands given to these charitable uses, and that in bountiful proportion, especially by King James of ever blessed memory, dissipated, leased forth for little or nothing, concealed contrary to all conscience and the excellent purpose of the founders."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 187, 188.

[l] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 298. [m] Ibid. pag. 329.

[n] Ibid. pag. 298.

ing of the Convocation. In a letter dated December 16, the Lord Deputy says: "In° a former letter of mine I mentioned a way propounded by my Lord Primate how to bring upon this clergy the articles of England and silence those of Ireland without noise, as it were aliud agens, which he was confident would pass amongst them. In my last I related to you, how his Grace grew fearful he should not be able to effect it, which awakened me, that had rested secure upon that judgment of his, and had indeed leaned upon that belief so long, as I had not bestirred myself, though I say it, like a man, I had been fatally surprized to my extream grief for as many days as I have to live." This is the whole account which has been preserved, and we are at a loss to ascertain what was the Primate's plan, or to discover the reasons which influenced him to despair of carrying it; we have fortunately a full detail of the measures which were adopted, and of the mode in which the Lord Deputy secured his success.

During the first short session of the Parliament the Convocation does not appear to have done any thing except making a liberal grant to the King of eight subsidies[p]:

° Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 342.

[p] The form was as follows: "Illustrissimo ac potentissimo Principi, ac Domino nostro clementissimo Carolo; Dei gratia Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ, fidei defensori &c. Jacobus Providentia divina Armachanus Archiepiscopus, totius Hiberniæ Primas et Metropolitanus, cum omni observantia tanto Principi debita, prosperum in hac vita successum et in futura æternam felicitatem. Serenissimæ vestræ Majestati, per publicum hoc instrumentum notum facimus, quod Prælati et clerus totius Hiberniæ, in sacra synodo nationali, jussu serenissimæ Majestatis vestræ, in ecclesia Cathedrali Sancti Patricii Dublinii legitime congregati, recolentes multa illa et summa beneficia, quæ communiter cum cæteris subditis vestris percipiunt (veluti sunt puræ religionis exercitium, justitiæ administratio, publicaque pax, in qua omnium bonorum affluentia continetur) et multo magis singularem Majestatis vestræ zelum erga decorum domus Dei et hæreditariam illam munificentiam, qua ordinem ecclesiasticum Regia Majestas vestra, paternis insistens vestigiis, prosequitur; non modo Deo optimo maximo humillimas pro vobis gratias agendas, et assiduas preces pro Regni vestri tranquillitate fundendas, sed etiam gratitudinem suam aliquo indicio Regiæ vestræ sublimitati testificandam duxerunt, et octo integra et ultronea subsidia, unanimi consensu, nemine prorsus dissentiente, Regiæ vestræ sublimitati alacriter concesserunt, Majestatem

and it was on its reassembling in November that they commenced to consider the state of the Church, and the necessity of establishing canons. The first step in the Upper House was agreeing upon the following petition to the King in favor of the inferior clergy:

vestram rogantes, ut ex affectus largitate potius quam rei ipsius tenuitate, hoc officium suum metiatur. Tenor vero concessionis prædictæ se habet in hunc qui sequitur modum.

"Most gracious and dread Soveraigne, we your Majesties most loyall subjects, the prelates and clergie of this church and kingdom of Ireland, called together out of the severall provinces of Armagh, Dublin, Cashell and Tuam, by the authoritie of your Highnesse writ, and orderly assembled in a national synode or convocation, being lately dejected and depressed to the lowest degree of misery and contempt, by the warres and confusions of former times, having our churches ruined, our habitations left desolate, our possessions alienated, our persons scorned, our very lives subject to the bloody attempts of rebellious traytors; and now by the pietie and bountie of your blessed Father, and by the gracious influence of your sacred Majestie being new enlived, and beginning to lift up our heads out of darknesse and obscurity, doe freely acknowledge to your immortal glory before God and the whole Christian world, that as no Church under Heaven did ever stand more in need, so none did ever finde more royal and munificent patrons and protectors than the poore Church of Ireland; you have not onely made restitution of that which the iniquitie of former ages had bereft us of, but also, as though you intended to expiate their faults, enriched us with new and princely endowments; all which great favours doe yet become more sweet unto us, whilst we entertain them as pledges of your future unexhausted goodnesse; and if we doe not seriously endeavour, throughout our whole lives, to make unfaigned expressions of true loyaltie and thankfulness to your sacred Majestie, we deserve to be condemned by men and punished by God as monsters of ingratitude; to which infinite obligation and many others, we may adde your Majesties inestimable goodnesse in providing for us your present Deputie Thomas Viscount Wentworth, a governour so just, carefull, provident and propitious to the Church."

Then proceeds the enactment of the different provisions, and it concludes thus;

"In quorum omnium et singulorum præmissorum fidem et testimonium, nos Jacobus Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas antedictus, has præsentes literas nostras testimoniales, sive hoc præsens publicum instrumentum ad humilem rogatum Prælatorum et Cleri prædicti, sigilli nostri appensione ac signo, nomine et subscriptione Johannis Forth Armigeri notarii publici, jussimus et fecimus communiri. Dat' vicesimo sexto die instant' mensis Julii, Anno Domini millesimo sexcentesimo tricesimo quarto, Regnique vestri felicissimi, scilicet Angliæ Scotiæ et Hiberniæ, decimo."

" To our dread Sovereign Charles by the grace of God King of Great Britain France and Ireland.

" The Humble petition of his Highness's most loyal and devoted subjects the Archbishops and Bishops of Ireland assembled in Convocation by his Majestys special command

" Sheweth unto your sacred Majesty

" That in the whole Christian world the rural clergy have not been reduced to such extreme contempt and beggary, as in this your Highness's kingdom by the means of the frequent appropriations, commendams and violent intrusions into their undoubted rights in times of confusion: having their churches ruined, their habitations left desolate, their tythes detained, their glebes concealed, and by inevitable consequence an invincible necessity of a general non residence imposed upon them, whereby the ordinary subject has been left wholly destitute of all possible means to learn true piety to God, loyalty to their Prince, civility towards one another, and whereby former wars and insurrections have been occasionally both procreated and maintained. Whereas by settling a rural clergy, endowed with competency to serve God at his altar, besides the general protection of the Almighty, which it will most surely bring upon your Majesty and this kingdom, barbarism and superstition will be expelled, the subject shall learn his duty to God and his Sovereign, and true religion be propagated.

" Our most humble suit is, that your Highness would be graciously pleased for God's cause and for his Churches cause and for the encouragement of others by your Royal example to so good a work: to perfect the pious intentions of your blessed Father and your sacred Majesty by establishing upon a rural and resident clergy those appropriations, which are yet in the crown undisposed. So as the same may bring no diminution to your revenue, nor considerable prejudice to the rights of the Imperial Crown of this Realm, as by a representation of the true state of these benefices made to the Lord Deputy and hereunto annexed may appear. And your devoted beadsmen, as they are more obliged in the strictest bonds of duty and gratitude, than any clergy

in the whole world to a Prince, will be incessant suitors to the God of Heaven for the long continuance of your blessed reign, and the perpetuation of this crown and scepter to your posterity until the second coming of Christ Jesus.

"JA. ARMACHANUS.
"ARCH. CASSELENS."

The Lower House of Convocation were in the meantime discussing the question of the canons, in which was included that of the Articles of religion. The narrative, as given by Lord Strafford to Archbishop Laud, is so complete and so minute, that it bears the stamp of truth, and must be followed in preference to that of Dr. Parr, or that of Bishop Vesey in his Life of Archbishop Bramhall. Lord Strafford commences his narrative by stating, that he was so much employed upon the business of Parliament, that he neglected the affairs of the clergy, "reposing secure upon the Primate, who all this while said not a word of the matter." At length he learned, "that the Lower House of Convocation had appointed a committee to consider the canons of the Church of England, that they did proceed to the examination without conferring at all with their Bishops, that they had gone thorough the book of Canons and noted in the margin such as they allowed with an A. and on others they had entered a D. which stood for Deliberandum; that in the fifth article[q] they had brought the Articles of Ireland to be allowed and received under the pain of excommunication, and that they had drawn up their Canons into a body and were ready that afternoon to make report in the Convocation." The Lord Deputy immediately sent for the Chairman of the Committee, Andrews[r] Dean of Limerick, re-

[q] He means the fifth canon, which in the English canons establishes the Thirty-nine Articles as settled in 1562, under pain of excommunication.

[r] Lord Strafford proposed a curious punishment for Dean Andrews. "If your Lordship think Dean Andrews hath been to blame and that you would chastise him for it, make him Bishop of Fernes and Laughlin to have it without any other commendam than as the last Bishop had, and then I assure you he shall leave better behind him, than will be recompensed out of that Bishoprick, which is one of the meanest of the whole Kingdom." The punishment was inflicted, and the Lord Deputy reported

quiring him to bring the volume of Canons so noted in the margin, and also the draught he was to present to the House. When he had read over the proceedings, he expressed with great indignation his opinion of what had been done; told him, not a Dean of Limerick, but Ananias, had sat in the chair of the Committee, and commanded him on his allegiance not to report any thing from the Committee until he heard again from him. On the following morning he had a meeting of the Primate, the Bishops[s] of Meath, Raphoe, Kilmore, and Derry, the Prolocutor, and all the members of the Committee, and publicly told them, "how unlike clergymen, that owed canonical obedience to their superiors, they had proceeded in the Committee; how unheard a part it was for a few petty clerks to presume to make articles of faith without the privity or consent of State or Bishop; what a spirit of Brownism and contradiction he observed in their deliberations, as if indeed they purposed at once to take away selfgovernment and order forth of the Church, and leave every man to chuse his own high place where liked him best." The Lord Deputy then laid his injunctions,

First. Upon Dean Andrews, that he should report nothing from the Committee to the House.

Secondly. He enjoined the Prolocutor, Dean Lesley, that in case any of the Committee should propound any question[t], he should not put it, but break up the sitting for that time, and acquaint the Lord Deputy with it.

Thirdly. That he should put no question at all touching the receiving or not of the Articles of the Church of Ireland.

that the Dean was well satisfied. "Never any so well pleased or so much desirous to take a Rochet to loss as he: Had he not died Bishop, he had been immemorial to posterity, where now he may be reckoned one of the worthies of his time."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 344, 378.

[s] The Bishop of Meath was Antony Martin; the Bishop of Raphoe John Lesley; the Bishop of Kilmore William Bedell, and the Bishop of Derry John Bramhall.

[t] Lord Strafford says that there were some hot spirits, who moved that they should petition him for a free synod, but in fine they could not agree among themselves who should put the bell about the cat's neck, and so this likewise vanished.

Fourthly. That he should put the question for allowing and receiving the Articles of the Church of England, wherein he was by name and in writing to take their votes, barely, content or not content, without admitting any other discourse at all, for he would not endure that the Articles of the Church of England should be disputed.

And finally; because there should be no question in the Canon that was thus to be voted, he desired the Lord Primate would be pleased to frame it, and after he had perused it, he would send the Prolocutor a draught of the Canon to be propounded, enclosed in a letter of his own.

The Lord Deputy then proceeds, in his letter to the Archbishop: "The Primate accordingly framed a canon, a copy whereof you have here, which I not so well approving drew up one myself more after the words of the Canon in England, which I held best for me to keep as close as I could and then sent it to my Lord. His Grace came instantly to me, and told me he feared the canon would not pass in such form, as I had made it, but he was hopeful as he had drawn it, it might: besought me therefore to think a little better of it. But I confess having taken a little jealousy, that his proceedings were not open and free to those ends I had my eyes upon, it was too late now either to persuade or affright me. I told his Lordship I was resolved to put it to them in those very words, and was most confident there were not six in the House that would refuse them, telling him by the sequel we should see whether his Lordship or myself better understood their minds on that point, and by that I would be content to be judged: only for order sake I desired his Lordship would vote[u] this canon first in the upper House of Convocation; and so voted, then to pass the

[u] Dr. Parr states: "In the Convocation the Lord Primate at the instance of the Lord Deputy and the Archbishop of Canterbury thought fit to propose, that to express the agreement of the Church of Ireland with that of England both in doctrine and discipline, the thirty nine articles should be received by the Church of Ireland, which proposal was thereupon consented to by both Houses of Convocation and the said articles were declared to be the confession of faith of the Church of Ireland." This is certainly not the same statement of the transaction which Lord Strafford gave, and must be rejected as incorrect.

question beneath also. Without any delay then I writ a letter to Dean Lesley the Prolocutor with the Canon enclosed, which was that afternoon unanimously voted[v] first with the Bishops and then with the clergy, excepting one man."

Bishop Vesey, in his Life of Primate Bramhall, has given a narrative of the proceedings in the Convocation, which he states to have received from Archbishop Price, then Archdeacon of Kilmore, and a member of the Lower House, yet the narrative cannot be easily reconciled with the letter of the Lord Deputy. Bishop Vesey's statement is as follows: "The Bishop of Derry laboured in the Convocation to have the correspondence between the two Churches more entire and accurate: and discoursed with great moderation and sobriety of the convenience of having the articles of peace and communion in every national Church, worded in that latitude that dissenting persons in those things, that concerned not the Christian faith, might subscribe, and the Church not lose the benefit of their labours for an opinion, which it may be they could not help: that it were to be wished that such Articles might be contrived for the whole Christian world, but especially that the Protestant Churches under his Majesty's dominion might all speak the same language; and particularly that those of England and Ireland being reformed by the same principle and rule of Scripture, expounded by universal tradition, Councils, Fa-

[v] Mr. Moore, in his History of Ireland, has given an account of the transaction which certainly has the claim of novelty. He says: "Notwithstanding the lively protest of the Lord Deputy, the Articles of Usher, chiefly in consequence of the general deference felt for his character, were retained by the Irish Church; and the Canon enjoining them is the first of the hundred then passed in Convocation and approved by the King." *Moore's History of Ireland*, vol. iv. p. 191. This is not the only extraordinary blunder about the ecclesiastical history of Ireland which this volume contains. The meeting of the Bishops at the Primate's house, and the sermon of Bishop Downham at Christ Church (see pag. 75), are thus described: "A synod was forthwith held in Christ Church, Dublin, by Downham, Bishop of Derry, at which eleven other Bishops attended, and the following grave resolution was the result."—Pag. 178. The author's ignorance of ecclesiastical affairs is scarcely credible, when he makes the Bishop of Derry hold a synod in a cathedral in the diocese of Dublin.

thers and other ways of conveyance might confess their faith in the same form. For if they were of the same opinion, why did they not express themselves in the same words? But he was answered, that because their sense was the same, it was not material if the expressions differed, and therefore it was fitter to confirm and strengthen the Articles of this Church passed in Convocation and confirmed by King James in 1615 by the authority of this present synod. To this the Bishop of Derry replyed, that the sense might be the same, yet that our adversaries clamoured much that they were dissonant confessions, and it was reasonable to take away the offence, when it might be done so easily: but for the confirmation of the Articles of 1615, he knew not what they meant by it, and wished the propounder to consider, whether such an act would not instead of ratifying what was desired, rather tend to the diminution of that authority by which they were enacted, and seem to question the value of that synod and consequently of this: for that this had no more power than that, and therefore could add no moment, but by so doing might help to inervate both. By this prudent dressing of the objection he avoyded the blow he most feared, and therefore again earnestly pressed the receiving of the English articles, which were at last admitted: whereupon immediately drawing up a Canon and proposing it, it passed accordingly."

It does not appear when the transactions here narrated could have taken place. It is evident, from the conference with the Lord Deputy, that the question had not been previously discussed in the Upper House; it is one of his subjects of complaint against the Lower House, that they had acted without consulting the Bishops: and there was scarcely time for such discussions after the conference, as the canon passed in the same afternoon. It should also be remarked, that the Lord Deputy had positively prohibited the discussion of the reception of the Irish Articles, and had actually given the canon to the Primate to propose. The mode which Bishop Vesey describes of "dressing the objection" would not reflect much credit upon the talents or honesty of Bishop Bramhall. The objection was childish,

and it would not have required the learning of the Primate to have answered it, by shewing that the acts of a council might be approved and confirmed by a succeeding one, without impairing the authority of either one or the other. It is most probable that Archbishop Price, in giving an account of the proceedings, had mixed up what occurred on the occasion of passing the first Canon, and the subsequent enactment of the others.

The Canon, as drawn up by Lord Strafford, does great credit to his sagacity, and did not require the apology which he offered to Archbishop Laud for any mistakes he might have made, "in[w] regard he had been out of his sphere." It is as follows:

"For the manifestation of our agreement with the Church of England in the confession of the same Christian faith and the doctrine of the Sacraments; we do receive and approve the Book of Articles of Religion, agreed upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and the whole clergy in the convocation holden in London in the year of our Lord 1562 for the avoiding of diversities of opinions and for the establishing of consent touching true religion. And therefore if any hereafter shall affirm that any of those Articles are in any part superstitious or erroneous, or such as he may not with a good conscience subscribe unto, let him be excommunicated, and not absolved before he make a publick recantation of his error."

It is quite evident, from the preceding narrative, that Lord Strafford considered he had not been fairly treated by Archbishop Ussher. However, even at the moment of his greatest indignation, his respect for the Primate's character appears very strongly. In the letter to Archbishop Laud, which contains his vehement invective upon the proceedings against his wishes, he says: "It is very true for all the Primate's silence it was not possible but he knew how near they were to have brought in those Articles of Ireland to the infinite disturbance and scandal of the Church, as I

[w] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 344.

conceive; and certainly could have been content I had been surprized. But he is so learned a Prelate and so good a man, as I do beseech your Grace it may never be imputed unto him."

Much controversy has arisen, whether or not the Irish Articles were repealed by this Canon. It seems a mere question of words. The Primate, in a letter to Dr. Ward, says: "The articles of religion agreed upon in our former synod anno 1615, we let stand as they did before. But for the manifesting of our agreement with the Church of England, we have received and approved your Articles also concluded in the year 1562, as you may see in the first of our Canons[x]." The opinion of the Primate was, that the Irish Articles contained the doctrine of the English Articles more fully set forth, and that the English Articles were only received as expounded by the Irish; and, acting up to this view, he required the candidates for orders to sign both the Irish and English Articles, a practice in which he was followed by some other bishops. But it is quite evident that the last act of the Convocation superseded all preceding ones, and that the Canon enforcing the English Articles tacitly repealed all acts with respect to other Articles. This was the view taken of the subject by Bishop Taylor, in his sermon at the funeral of Archbishop Bramhall, to whom he attributed the adoption of the English Articles, and thus

[x] It has been stated by many writers, that the Primate and several other Bishops petitioned the Lord Deputy, that he would suffer the Irish Articles to be ratified by the Parliament, and that he rejected the proposal with extreme indignation.—See Smith's Life of Ussher; Bp. Mant's History, pag. 494. But this account is not easily reconciled with the foregoing letter, or with the letters of Archbishop Laud. There is no mention of it by Dr. Parr or Dr. Bernard. I am inclined to think that its authority rests upon the following passage in the charge of the Scottish Commissioners against Lord Strafford: "When the Primate of Ireland did press a new ratification of the Articles of their Kirk in Parliament for barring such novations in religion; he boldly menaced him with the burning by the hand of the hangman, all of that Confession, altho confirmed in former Parliaments." The Scottish Commissioners having made the charge is certainly no proof of the fact. Their charge is absurd, for the Articles never were confirmed in former Parliaments, and if they had been, there would have been no occasion for the Primate to apply that they should again be confirmed.

describes the advantages resulting from the enactment, "that[y] they and we might be populus unius labii, of one heart and one lip, building up our hopes of Heaven on a most holy faith; and taking away that Shibboleth which made this Church lisp too undecently, or rather in some little degree to speak the speech of Ashdod, and not the language of Canaan."

It is certain that, after the Restoration, no attempt was ever made to enforce subscription to the Irish Articles, and that for admission to holy orders the only subscription to Articles required has been signing the first Canon, which enforces the Thirty-nine Articles of the Church of England.

Dr. Parr states, that it has been entirely a mistake to suppose that any difference existed between the Primate and Bishop Bramhall on the subject of the Articles; that their only difference of opinion was about the Canons. No sooner had the agreement with the Church of England in doctrine been settled in the Convocation, than the Bishop of Derry moved that there should be a similar agreement in government, and that the English Canons of 1604 should be received as the Canons[z] of the Church of Ireland. This

[y] Taylor's Works, vol. vi. pag 431.

[z] It does not appear clearly what Canons were in force previously to this Convocation. No mention is made in the correspondence of any Canons in force; yet there is a passage in Dr. Bernard's work, which speaks of Canons being drawn up by Dr. Ussher in 1614. Probably, though drawn up, they never received the Royal sanction. The passage is as follows: "Anno 1614. He (Dr. Ussher) was a principal person appointed for the collecting and drawing up of such Canons as might best concern the discipline and government of the Church of Ireland, taken out of Queen Elizabeth's Injunctions and the Canons of England, to be treated upon by the Archbishops and Bishops and Clergy of that Kingdom, some of which I have, which were written then with his own hand and presented by him; The two first of them were these,

"1. That no other form of Liturgy or Divine Service shall be used in any church of this Realm, but that which is established by Law, and comprised in the Book of Common Prayer and Administration of Sacraments &c.

"2. That no other form of Ordination shall be used in this nation, but which is contained in the Book of Ordering of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons, allowed by authority, and hitherto practiced in the Churches of England and Ireland &c.

"And in his subscription (in relation to the above mentioned) it is in

proposal was strenuously resisted by the Primate[a], on the ground that it would be a betrayal of the privileges of a national Church; that some discrepancy ought to appear, that the Church of Ireland might declare its independence of the Church of England, and also express her opinion, that rites and ceremonies need not be the same in all churches, which are independent of each other, but that different Canons might coexist with the same faith and communion. The Primate was successful in his opposition, and it was resolved, that such of the English Canons as were suitable to the state of Ireland should be retained, and that others should be added to them. The execution of this task was intrusted to the Bishop of Derry[b], and the Book of

these words, viz. I do acknowledge the form of God's Service prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer, is good and godly, and may lawfully be used, and do promise that I myself will use the form in the said Book prescribed in celebration of Divine Service and Administration of the Sacraments, and none other. I do also acknowledge, that such as are consecrated and ordered according to the form prescribed in the Book of Ordination set forth by Authority, have truly received Holy Orders and have power given them to exercise all things belonging to that sacred function, whereunto they are called &c."—*Bernard. Clavi Trabales*, pag. 62, 63.

[a] Lord Strafford, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "I am clear of your Lordship's opinion, it were fit the Canons of England were received here as well as the Articles: but the Primate is hugely against it; the business is merely point of honour (or as Sir Thomas Cognesby would have expressed it, matter of punctilio) lest Ireland might become subject to the Church of England, as the province of York is to that of Canterbury. Needs forsooth we must be a Church of ourselves, which is utterly lost unless the Canons here differ, albeit not in substance, yet in some form, from yours in England; and this crotchet put the good man into such an agony, as you cannot believe so learned a man should be troubled withal. But I quieted him by approving his writing to your Lordship, and assuring him I should repose myself in whatever was asserted by your Grace: to whose wisdom indeed I wholly submit myself, being very ready to do therein, as I shall receive directions from you. The truth is I conceive there are some Puritan correspondents of his, that infuse these necessities into his head, besides a popular disposition, which inclines him to a desire of pleasing all, the sure way I think never to please a man's self. You will among the rest find a rare canon against the sword salve, which I take to be a speculation far fetched and dear bought."—*Strafford's Letters*, vol. i. pag. 381.

[b] This is the account of the matter usually given, but Dr. Bernard says: "For the more perfect canons of the Church of Ireland, constituted anno

Canons soon passed the Convocation, and received His Majesty's assent. The arrangement was totally different from the English book, and the number was reduced from one hundred and forty-one to one hundred. Upon the unfortunate[c] result of the Primate's objections I fully agree with Bishop Mant, and shall quote a passage from his History of the Church of Ireland: "If[d] the object was to maintain the independence and free agency of the Irish Church, that object might have been attained by appending to the Eng-

1634 in the Convocation there (whereof I was a member) most of them were taken out of these of England, and he being then Primate had a principal hand in their collection and proposal to the reception of them, the methodizing of all which into due order I have seen and have it by me written in his own hand throughout: whereby 'tis apparent what his judgment was in relation to them." After this declaration of Dr. Bernard it is vain to talk of the Popish tendency given to the Canons by Archbishops Laud and Bramhall.

[c] The difference between the English and Irish Canons occasions at this moment considerable difficulty. What are the Canons now in force in Ireland? The Act of Union declares, that the "churches of England and Ireland as now by law established, be united into one protestant episcopal church to be called the United Church of England and Ireland, and that the doctrine, worship, discipline, and government, of the said united Church, shall be, and shall remain in full force for ever, as the same are now by law established for the Church of England." Now it is impossible that this should be the case, unless the English Canons form the code of the United Church. But, it is said, Parliament had no right to abolish the Canons of the Irish Church; the Canons must remain in force until the Convocation repeal them. That Parliament had no right must be admitted, but that it usurped the rights of Convocation in the whole of the fifth article of the Act is quite clear, and if in one part, how can we argue that it did not in all? The usurpation was sanctioned by the consent of the Upper House of Convocation in the House of Lords, and by the tacit consent of the clergy who would have formed the Lower House. The question seems beset with difficulties, and has not, I believe, been ever legally determined. I know the late Bishop of Ferns, when giving any orders to his clergy, always quoted both the Canons of the English and Irish Church as his authority, feeling himself incompetent to decide the question. One of the ablest men of his day, and a member of the House of Lords at the time of the Union, Bishop O'Beirne, always maintained that the Irish Canons were abrogated by an assumption of power on the part of the Parliament, an assumption which was considered preferable to summoning after so long an interval the Convocation, and which would be rendered legal by the submission of the clergy.

[d] Mant's History, vol. i. pag. 504.

lish Canons, or interweaving with them, such additions as appeared requisite for national purposes, and then adopting the code in pursuance of Bishop Bramhall's proposal in its original form with those additions. Such a code would have been more complete in itself, and better fitted for preserving that unity of Christian profession which was avowedly manifested by the adoption of the English Articles, than by rejecting some of the English canons and new modelling the whole. For whilst the wisdom of these objections is by no means palpable or indisputable, the new modelling of the code gives an appearance of discrepancy which does not exist."

Carte states, that "the[e] Convocation contained many members who were puritanical in their hearts, and made several trifling objections to the body of Canons extracted out of the English, which was offered to their judgment and approbation, particularly to such as concerned the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship, the administration of the Sacrament and the ornaments used therein, the qualifications for Holy orders, for benefices and for pluralities, the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligation to residency and subscription." In these remarks there is much truth, as a brief examination of the difference between the English and Irish Canons will show. However, on some of the points mentioned by him it will appear that there is no discrepancy whatever between the two codes.

As to the solemnity and uniformity of divine worship. The general principle of uniformity is as distinctly put forward by the third Irish as by the fourteenth English Canon. The third Irish Canon enacts, "That form of Liturgy or divine service and no other shall be used in any church of this realm, but that which is established by the Law and comprized in the Book of Common Prayer and administration of Sacraments." The English Canons, however, were not content with this general uniformity, and enjoined several observances in the mode of worship. The eighteenth Canon gave the following directions: "All manner of per-

[e] Carte's Life of the Duke of Ormond, vol. i. pag. 78.

sons then present shall reverently kneel upon their knees, when the General Confession, Litany, and other prayers are read; and shall stand up at the saying of the Belief, according to rules in that behalf prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer; And likewise when in time of Divine Service the Lord Jesus shall be mentioned, due and lowly reverence shall be done by all persons present, as it hath been accustomed; testifying by these outward ceremonies and gestures their inward humility, Christian resolution, and due acknowledgement that the Lord Jesus Christ, the true eternal Son of God, is the only Saviour of the world, in whom alone all the mercies, graces and promises of God to mankind for this life and the life to come, are fully and wholly comprized. None either man, woman, or child, of what calling soever, shall be otherwise at such times busied in the church, than in quiet attendance to hear, mark, and understand that which is read, preached or ministred; saying in their due places audibly with the Minister the Confession, the Lords Prayer, and the Creed, and making such other answers to the publick prayers, as are appointed in the Book of Common Prayer." The corresponding Irish Canon, the seventh, omits all these particulars, and substitutes this general direction, "using all such reverent gestures and actions, as by the Book of Common Prayer are prescribed in that behalf, and the commendable use of this Church received."

In the administration of the Sacraments I cannot perceive any deviation[f] from the rules prescribed in the English Canons. The two rules which affected particularly the

[f] In the Irish Canons is omitted altogether the explanation of the use of the cross in baptism, which is given in the thirtieth English Canon, and also the very important injunction with which it concludes, admonishing all persons, "that things of themselves indifferent do in some sort alter their natures, when they are either commanded or forbidden by the lawful magistrate, and may not be omitted at every man's pleasure contrary to the Law, when they be commanded; nor used when they are prohibited."

The form of prayer to be used by all preachers before their sermons is also omitted in the Irish Canons, and also the order to have the Ten Commandments set up at the east end of every church, and to have chosen sentences written upon the walls in places convenient.

Dissenters, are strictly enforced in the eighteenth Canon: "No minister when he celebrateth the communion shall wittingly administer the same to any but such as kneel;" and "Likewise the minister shall deliver both the bread and wine to every communicant severally."

There does not appear any difference as to "the ornaments used in divine service," for, though there is not an Irish Canon corresponding to the fifty-eighth English, which enjoins the use of a surplice, yet the following passage in the seventh Irish Canon enacts the same thing in another form: "All Ministers shall likewise use and observe the orders, rites, *ornaments*, and ceremonies prescribed in the Book of Common Prayer and in the Act of Uniformity printed therewith, as well in reading the Holy Scriptures and saying of prayers, as in administration of the Sacraments; without either diminishing in regard of preaching or in any other respect, or adding anything in the matter or form thereof." And this Canon alludes to the surplice as a dress universally adopted, for it orders, that in Cathedral and Collegiate churches, hoods shall be worn by the Deans, &c., along with their surplices.

The other provisions mentioned by Carte, as grounds of objection to the English Canons, are as rigidly enforced in the Irish, namely, the qualifications for holy orders, for benefices and for pluralities[g], the oath against simony, the times of ordination, and the obligations to residency and subscription[h]. There are several additions to the Irish Canons arising from the peculiar circumstances of the Church of Ireland. The first is in the eighth Canon, where it is enacted, that "every Beneficiary and Curate shall endeavour that the Confession of sins and Absolution and all the second service (at or be-

[g] There is a difference in the restriction. In the English Canon the two benefices must be within thirty miles, in the Irish they must be under £40 a year.

[h] The subscription may at first sight appear different, but it is really the same. By the English Canons the candidate for orders is obliged to sign three Articles, asserting the King's supremacy, the obligation to receive the Book of Common Prayer, and the agreement of the Thirty-nine Articles to the Word of God. By the Irish he is obliged to sign the first four Irish Canons, which contain the same articles in substance.

fore the Communion to the Homily or Sermon) where the people all or most are Irish, shall be used in English first and after in Irish, if the Ordinary of the Place shall so think meet." This most useful order, which would seem to make it absolutely necessary that, where most of the people are Irish, that is, speak Irish, the minister of the parish should also speak Irish, is rendered nugatory, or rather mischievous, by the eighty-sixth Canon, which directs, that "where the minister is an Englishman and many Irish in the parish," such a parish clerk shall be appointed "as shall be able to read those parts of the service which shall be appointed to be read in Irish." This Canon gives the permission which seemed to be refused by the eighth, and sanctions the appointment of a minister unacquainted with Irish; while, in order to protect his incompetence, it gives an authority, which it was not competent to bestow, to a layman, to read the most solemn parts of the service. The Canon, in this particular, would seem to contradict the Book of Common Prayer, and, therefore be inoperative. In another particular it is opposed to an Act of Parliament; the Act of Uniformity then in operation strictly forbad the service being performed in Irish, and, as I already remarked, forgetful of the first principles of the Reformation, ordered a Latin service. The eighty-sixth Canon seems to have been dictated by a not very strange contrariety of feeling, the strong sense of duty in preaching to a benighted people in a language which they could understand, and the powerful motive of self-interest in those who were unwilling or unable to qualify themselves for the undertaking, yet wished to secure the best preferments in the Church. Another Canon[1],

[1] Dr. Reid, in his History of the Presbyterians, states that this Canon was proposed by Bishop Bedell, who, supported by Ussher and the great majority of his brethren, defeated Bramhall, "who like his patron and prototype Laud, was averse to the general education of the people." This is a mere gratuitous assertion for the purpose of attacking Archbishop Laud. He was not the patron of Bramhall, however after his promotion he might have become his friend. Archbishop Ussher certainly had been opposed to instructing the people in Irish, see above, pag. 118, and it is not likely that within such a short time he would have become so zealous a convert, however he might have relaxed his opposition.

dictated by a better spirit, and calculated to do unmixed good, was unfortunately never enforced. The ninety-fourth Canon directed, that "where all or the most part of the people are Irish, they shall provide also the said books (namely the Bible and Book of Common Prayer) in the Irish tongue, so soon as they may be had. The charge of these Irish books being to be borne also wholly by the parish."

The eleventh Canon, requiring ministers to catechize every Sunday, is copied exactly from the fifty-ninth English Canon[k], with this remarkable and useful addition: "Neither shall the minister admit any to be married or to be Godfathers or Godmothers at the baptism of any child, or to receive the Holy Communion, before they can say the Articles of Belief, the Lord's prayer and the commandments in such a language as they understand." The twelfth Canon is not found among the English, and seems to have embodied Archbishop Ussher's directions to his clergy. It desires "the heads of the Catechism to be divided into as many parts as there are Sundays in the year and explained in the parish churches. In the handling whereof the ministers and curates are to use such moderation that they do not run into curious questions or unnecessary controversies, but shortly declare and confirm the doctrine proposed, and make application thereof to the behoof of the hearers."

An addition to the nineteenth Canon was the occasion of great offence. It was as follows: "And the minister of every parish—shall, the afternoon before the said administration, give warning by the tolling of the bell or otherwise, to the intent that if any have any scruple of conscience, or desire the special ministry of reconciliation he may afford it to those that need it. And to this end the people are often to be exhorted to enter into a special examination of the state of their own souls; and that finding themselves either extremely dull or much troubled in mind, they do resort unto Gods ministers to receive from them as well advice and

[k] The English Canon, as well as the Irish, is contradicted by the Rubric, for they desire the instruction to be given before Evening Prayer, and the Rubric now desires it should be given after the Second Lesson.

counsel for the quickening of their dead hearts, and the subduing of those corruptions whereunto they have been subject; as the benefit of absolution likewise for the quieting of their conscience by the power of the keys, which Christ hath committed to his ministers for that purpose." It would seem difficult for those who received the Liturgy of the Church of England to consider this Canon "as an inculcation of the popish doctrine of auricular confession." It does not go farther than the conclusion of the first exhortation in giving notice for the Communion, an exhortation which was not considered as Popish by Bucer. It, however, was brought into notice by the injudicious conduct of an English clergyman named Croxton, sent over into Ireland as chaplain to Lord Mountnorris by Archbishop Laud. This young man, who seems to have from the very first conducted himself injudiciously, and offended Archbishop Ussher by his behaviour in the Convocation and by his preaching, carried the observance of this Canon to a length which he acknowledged himself was "counted a most strange act without all warrant." He states himself, that he "sacramentally heard the confessions of the people committed to his charge in Goran (a certaine thoroughfare towne in the county of Kilkenye) in the chancell, they kneeling before the altar." This conduct, which might well be said to be without all warrant, was seized upon by Prynne as one of the proofs that Archbishop Laud favored Popery[1]. Archbishop Laud, however, did not approve; what he says is: "I remember well there is somewhat in the Canons of Ireland established last Parliament that belongs to confession, but I have not the Canons by me at Croydon, and I cannot particularize, only I doubt Croxton hath born himself too boldly upon it—I did not hold it fit to send this copy to my Lord Primate because both you and I know he hath a stitch against Croxton already, and I love not to make things worse, since I know too well that very little trifles in Church pretensions make much noise and are hardly laid down." It was unfortunate, however, that he did not in stronger terms

[1] See Canterbury's Doom, pag. 195.

censure[m] such unauthorized proceedings, adopted as if in conformity with the rules of the Church, yet in direct violation of the letter as well as the spirit of them.

It appears from a letter of Archbishop Laud, that the Primate had been in correspondence with him during the time of the Convocation sitting, but unfortunately these letters have perished. Archbishop Laud congratulates the Primate upon the happy termination of the Convocation and Parliament. He expresses his unqualified approbation of the arrangements about subscription: "As[n] for the particular about subscription, I think you have couched that well, since, as it seems, there was some necessity to carry that article closely. And God forbid you should, upon any occasion, have rolled back upon your former controversy about the Articles. For if you should have risen from this convention in heat, God knows when or how the Church would have cooled again, had the cause of difference been never so slight. By which means the Romanists, which is too strong a party already, would both have strengthened and made a scorn of you. And therefore ye are much bound to God that in this nice and pricked age you have ended all things canonically and yet in peace. And I hope you will be all careful to continue and maintain that which God hath thus mercifully bestowed upon you." Upon the Canons, however, he did not bestow such unlimited approbation: "And for your Canons[o] to speak truth and with wonted liberty

[m] The Bishop of the diocese was at this time incapable of interfering. Wheeler, Bishop of Ossory, was upwards of ninety years of age.

[n] Works, vol. xvi. pag. 7.

[o] It appears, from a letter of Sir George Radcliffe to Bishop Bramhall, that the Canons excited great alarm among the Roman Catholics. He says: "The Canons are published in print this week; and by occasion of speaking thereof, here is a panic fear risen in this town (Dublin) as if a new persecution (so they call it) were instantly to be set on foot."—*Rawdon Papers*, pag. 22. This passage Dr. Reid takes hold of to prove the prevalence of nonconformity at that period, "when the trepidation and alarm reached the ear of Radcliffe, the Master General of the Ordnance." To heighten the effect Dr. Reid omits that Sir George Radcliffe was principal secretary to Lord Strafford, the man upon whose assistance in the government he most relied, and, therefore, most likely to hear of any panic. But, had he thought fit to read to the end of the letter, he would

and prudence, though I cannot but think the English canons, especially with some few amendments, would have done better; yet since you and that Church have thought otherwise, I do very easily submit to it, and you shall have my prayers that God would bless it."

At this time Lord Strafford revived the Court of High Commission, which had been introduced in the reign of Elizabeth. He had proposed its establishment to Archbishop Laud before, but at the same time suggested that "it should not be set on foot, till we see what may become of the Parliament." His object in establishing this court is thus stated by him: "The[p] use of it might be very great to countenance the despised state of the clergy; to support ecclesiastical courts and officers, much suffering by means of the overgrowth of Popery in this kingdom; to restrain the extreme extortion of officials, registers and such like; to annul all foreign jurisdiction, which daily grows more insolent than other; to punish the abominable polygamies, incests, and adulteries, which both in respect of the exercise of a foreign jurisdiction, and for the forementioned reasons are here too frequent; to provide for the maintenance of the clergy, and for their residence, either by themselves or able curates; to take an account how monies given to pious uses are bestowed; to bring the people here to a conformity in religion, and in the way to all these, raise perhaps a good revenue to the crown. But then I could wish there be good choice had in naming the commissioners." The unconstitutional nature of this Court cannot be denied; but Mr. Moore bears this high testimony to the character of the Lord Deputy: "In[q] the hands of Strafford its enormous power was made subservient wholly to fiscal purposes, and he could boast with great pride, that during his government in Ireland, 'not the hair of a man's

have found that Radcliffe meant to describe the Roman Catholics as fearing the Canons. He speaks of a book lately published at Cambridge by a country minister, styling himself Priest, and says: "This startles a Puritan as much as the Canons do the Papist."

[p] Strafford's Letters, vol. i. pag. 187.

[q] Moore's History of Ireland, vol. iv. pag. 215.

head was touched for the free exercise of his conscience.' In a similar spirit he wisely declared that fines to enforce conformity were 'an engine rather to draw money out of men's pockets than to raise a right belief in their hearts.'" At the head of the Commission Court the Primate was placed.

At the close of the Convocation he was called upon by the University of Dublin to assist at the Commencements held in July, 1635, and to moderate in the Divinity Act. In a letter to Dr. Ward he says: "I have been almost tired with continual attendance upon our long continued Parliament and Convocation; which being done they would needs impose upon me also the moderating of the Divinity Act, and the creating of Doctors at our last Commencements[r]."

One of the first matters brought before the High Commission Court was a petition that had been presented by the clergy in Convocation, for the suppression of Popish schoolmasters, and for an inquiry into the abuses of free schools. The Lord Deputy[s] expressed his approbation of the peti-

[r] Prynne quotes a letter from the Primate to Archbishop Laud, which does not appear in the collection of letters. It is dated Jan. 4, 163¾. He says: "That this conceit is so rife in the minds and mouths of the Papists nowadayes, that we are comming on and every day drawing nigher unto them than other; for the stopping of these slanderous mouths, let this suffice, that whatsoever others imagine of the matter, I stand fully convinced in my conscience that the Pope is Antichrist; and therefore if I should be so mad as to worship the Beast or to receive the marks of his name, I must be *αὐτοκατακριτος* and justly expect the revenge that is threatened against such. Apoc. xiv. 10. 11."—*Canterbury's Doom*, pag. 554.

[s] The Lord Deputy's letter was as follows:

"To the Lord Primate and the rest of the Commissioners for Ecclesiastical causes.

"After our very hearty commendations. Whereas the whole Clergy of this kingdom assembled in Convocation did present their humble petition, amongst other things that all Popish schoolmasters should be suppressed, that inquiry should be made by the commissioners into the abuses of free schools, and to give speedy order for the reformation of them; that whereas frequent burials in Abbeys is an occasion of the great neglect and contempt of parish churches, and mainly prejudicial to the Clergy, some good course might be taken to restrain that abuse by Act of State; We have thought fit hereby not only to testify our approbation thereof, but also earnestly to desire you, as those to whose care it doth more properly appertain, to take the same into your serious consideration, and we do hereby

tion, and referred it to the Primate and the other Commissioners, adding also an earnest request, that they would take measures to enforce the residence of the clergy. Another reformation, with regard to the Church service, which the Lord Deputy effected, with the assistance of the Lord Primate, was the observance of holydays. Lord Strafford, in a letter to the Archbishop of Canterbury, says: "After[t] speech with my Lord Primate concerning the due keeping of the Holydays according to the rules ecclesiastical, we resolved to recommend it to the four Archbishops, and they to their suffragans, which I have done very effectually, so as I am confident the former omission or neglect thereof will be recompensed by a heedful observance of them for the future." It appears then most clearly, that Archbishop

require and authorize you to advise of some good means whereby the said abuses be prevented for the future; especially to see that publick schools, whether they be founded by statute, or by his Majesty's princely endowment, be not so extremely neglected as they are, or served by popish or other stipendiaries; and to proceed to the deprivation of such persons as you shall find to have been grossly culpable in this kind.

"And further, whereas we cannot but take notice of the general non-residence of clergymen to the dishonour of God, the disservice of their cures, the vain expense of their means in cities and corporate towns, and the great scandal of the Church; we do hereby require and authorize you to proceed instantly with all severity to the reformation of this great abuse, and to cause all those whom you shall find to live idly about this city of Dublin or other cities or corporate towns, or upon their farms, to repair instantly to their parish churches to attend that charge, whereof they owe an account both to God and man; and if they shall disobey your commands in this respect, to sequester their livings for a year; and if they be still negligent, to deprive them: purposing upon our return into this kingdom (if it shall so please God and his Majesty) to take a strict account of your proceedings and good endeavours in each of these particulars.

"Yet it is not our meaning thereby to restrain any from following their lawful suits or occasions in this city or elsewhere, so long as shall be necessary for the dispatch of such their affairs; but withal we would not have pretences admitted for just reasons of their absence. In the due and circumspect performance of which, you shall effect a great reformation, highly acceptable to Almighty God, most pleasing to his most excellent Majesty, becoming yourself and those charges you exercise in this Church, and contenting all good men. So I rest

"Your affectionate friend

"WENTWORTH.

"*Dublin Castle this 2nd of June* 1636."

[t] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 42.

Ussher did not consider the service of the Church holydays as Popish, but insisted upon their observance in the midst of Dissenters. Dr. Bernard acknowledges the fact, and relates, that "the[u] annual Festivals of the Church he (the Primate) duly observed, preaching upon their several commemorations: On Christmas day, Easter, Whitsunday he never failed of Communions; that excellent treatise of his entitled, 'The incarnation of the Son of God,' was the substance of two or three sermons, which I heard him preach in a Christmas time; Good Fryday he constantly kept very strictly, preaching himself then upon the Passion beyond his ordinary time, when we had the publick prayers in their utmost extent also, and without any thought of a superstition he kept himself fasting till evening."

At the close of this year, or, according to our reckoning, at the commencement of the next, the Primate addressed the following circular letter to the Archbishops and Bishops:

"My very Good Lord

"I am commanded to declare unto you that it is the pleasure of the State, that the suspending of the proceedings against recusants for their clandestines, for which you received directions before the beginning of the Parliament, shall be still continued, until you do receive more special instructions to the contrary. And that in the mean time, in a quiet and silent manner, you withdraw all such proceedings, and be careful to place able and worthy ministers in all parishes, who may endeavour to win and reduce the adverse party by instruction and good example.

"I am further also required by letters directed unto me from his Majesty, dated at Hampton Court the 24th of December last, to admonish all my brethren, the lords Bishops, that they concur in the great work of plantation now in hand, by planting Protestants upon their lands.

"So I commit you to God's blessed protection and rest

"Your Lordships most assured loving brother

"Ja. Armachanus.

"*Dublin March* 17 1636.

[u] Clavi Trabales, pag. 63.

"But for the particular of marriages you are to take order that the banns also be thrice denounced in our parish churches, and a note preserved of their names who are to be married; or that otherwise they take out their license for marriage, paying those accustomed fees, that they of our own profession used to do upon the like occasions. These things I thought good to acquaint your Lordship as so I rest."

At this period the Primate was engaged in a contest with Chappell[r], Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, which excited very great attention, was the subject of lengthened correspondence between the Lord Deputy and the Archbishop of Canterbury, and was the immediate cause of procuring the new Charter and Statutes for Trinity College, that measure which had been recommended so many years before by Archbishop Abbot. The history of this transaction is involved in very great obscurity, as the Registry of Trinity College furnishes very imperfect information, and, while there are many gaps in the letters which passed between Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford, there is only one letter on the subject preserved from the Archbishop to the Primate, and not one of the Primate's. It should be recollected that, according to the ancient charter, the duration of a Fellowship was limited to seven years, and that the Visitors of the College were the Chancellor or his Vice-Chancellor, the Archbishop of Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the Vice-Treasurer, the Treasurer-at-War, the Chief Justice of the King's Bench, and the Mayor of the City of Dublin. A Senior Fellowship became vacant at the end of December, 1635, and doubts arose as to the eligibility of the first three Junior Fellows, Hoyle, Feasant, and Cullen, Hoyle having refused to wear a surplice till the Sunday before the election, and all three being notoriously negli-

[r] Provost Chappell expresses strongly the misery of the situation in which he was placed by his appointment to the Provostship:

"Exinde me Collegio totus dico
In ordinem ut redigam. Redigo per gratiam
Dei mei, cui laus et honor in seculum.
Quid non patior, hoc dum ago. Ruunt facto agmine
In me profana turba Romæ Genevæque."

gent in attendance upon chapel. After much discussion, the three having been passed over, the Provost proposed Mr. Ware, who, though more attentive than the others, was not free from blame. While the Board were discussing his election, a mandate was delivered from the Visitors, inhibiting them from proceeding. The inhibition was signed by the Archbishops of Armagh and Dublin, the Bishop of Meath, the Mayor of Dublin, and Adam Loftus, the Vice-Treasurer. The Provost, though justly indignant at such a proceeding having been taken on the petition of three Junior Fellows, without hearing the other party, submitted.

The power of election was vested by the Statutes in the Provost and four Senior Fellows. The number was rapidly diminishing, and the Provost, afraid that the power of electing would cease, had recourse to a singular expedient. He and two Senior Fellows, being the major part, repealed the Statute which limited the power of election to four Senior Fellows. This repealing power Archbishop Abbot had decided did not belong to the Provost and Fellows by the Charter. Upon this a Visitation was held, as is collected from circumstantial evidence, but no record of it exists, and Newman and Conway, the two Senior Fellows who voted with the Provost, were expelled. It seems strange, when the Visitors proceeded so far, they did not expel the Provost also; yet some punishment must have been inflicted upon the Provost, for Archbishop Laud writes to Lord Strafford: "I send you a copy of the Visitors' last act against the two Senior Fellows that joined with the Provost in this business, and himself." It is most probable that only a censure was passed upon the Provost, for, in his letter to the Primate, Archbishop Laud says: "His[w] Majesty was of necessity to be made acquainted with the business because the censure of the Provost, if he deserves it, is referred to himself." The Archbishop further says, in a letter to the Lord Deputy: "I[x] have within these two days received letters out of Ireland from my Lord Primate. All is naught there. His letters are three sides of a paper in

[w] Ussher's Works, vol. xvi. pag. 23.
[x] Strafford's Letters, voi. ii. pag. 24.

his small close hand. All the proceedings set down at large. If the relation be true, the Provost is much to blame. The business is now brought to me, which I am most sorry for, in regard I know how things are between them two." Lord Strafford replies: "As concerning the difference betwixt the Provost and Fellows of the College at Dublin, it seems they are grown very high. For which I am sorry but how to help it I know not, being in this only able to follow such directions as I shall receive from his Majesty and your Grace—Methinks the act of the Visitors was very precipitate and violent, so sharply to expel the two senior Fellows and all this for a Fellows sake that never wore a surplice, but now being in danger otherwise to lose his preferment. Indeed I judge this hot proceeding rather to come from the vehemence of Dr. Martin Bishop of Meath, than from the mild and gentle disposition of the Primate. But however it be, considering that my Lord Justice Wandesford hath laid open the root whence all these disagreements arise, and certainly most truly, it will be a business fit for your Grace to apply an expedient unto, and for us to attend your order and pursue it at after with all the care possible, which your Grace may be assured of from me, and that I will never give it over (discontent it as much as it will) till I see all settled and executed, as you shall please to prescribe therein."

Archbishop Laud in answer says: "I am heartily sorry for the difference that is fallen out between my Lord Primate and the Visitors of the College near Dublin, and the Provost and some Senior Fellows there. This unhappy difference began as I take it while your Lordship was there, but I am confident it had never grown to this height had not your Lordship come thence. It is in my judgment a great business in itself that the prime Prelates in the kingdom and the Provost of the College should be at such eager difference in the open face of that state and in view of so many Romanists as swarm there, and cannot but look upon it with joy. But it is far more dangerous in the consequence if I much mistake not. For that College, as your Lordship

[y] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 36.

has often acknowledged unto me both by letters and otherwise, having been as ill governed as any other in Christendom, or worse, will never be able to recover and to settle to be a good seminary for that Church, if both the power and the credit of the Provost be not upheld by his Superiors; and should a Provost that is otherwise vigilant and careful err in some circumstantial business, it is far better for the publick if not to maintain his errors, yet to pass by them, rather than to give countenance and encouragement for such young heads, as seek for no other liberty than that which may make way for licentiousness. My Lord upon this ground I could heartily wish the heats, which I doubt not have been in this business, had been forborn or that yet your Lordship could bring it to that temper that both parties would lay down the cause and not put me to give a public decision, which as this case stands may do some hurt, which way soever the justice of the cause upon full evidence shall sway my judgment."

He then proceeds to state, that he had drawn up from all the papers sent to him a full statement of the facts, and to request that the Lord Deputy would call the parties before him, and read the case so prepared, that before he gave judgment the facts might be acknowledged, on which that judgment was to rest. He wrote also, on the same day, a letter to the Primate, containing nearly the same particulars, and concluding with these words: "My hope is great in your Grace's moderation, but if all fail, I shall make a binding decision, so soon as ever the state of the business is sent me back."

There is now no allusion to the College in Strafford's letters for ten months, and it is not easy to ascertain the course of proceedings in that interval, except that some reconciliation had taken place between the Visitors and the Provost. It is certain that at the Visitation, Hoyle and Feasant, two of the petitioning Fellows, were appointed Senior Fellows, and with them Ware, Cullen having been passed over for some reason not explained. The reconciliation must have been effected by the restoration of Newman and Conway, and the expulsion of Fea-

sant[z], which events certainly took place before the following March. Archbishop Laud seems to have come to the determination of putting an end to these disturbances for the future, by giving to the College a new Charter and a body of Statutes. Various difficulties presented themselves in overcoming the objections of the Fellows, and it was necessary that the Provost and four Senior Fellows should accept the new Charter. These difficulties, however, the Chancellor determined to overcome by the strong arm of power. Mr. Newman had now ceased to be a Fellow from lapse of time. There were but four Senior Fellows[a], one of them hostile, and another doubtful. In March the Lord Deputy sent a mandate to appoint John Harding a Senior Fellow, and in May another mandate to appoint Thomas Marshall. There was now a sufficient number to receive the Charter, and accordingly it was accepted[b] on the 5th of

[z] Of Feasant we hear nothing more, except, perhaps, he was the Thomas Feasant who, in 1641, presented a petition to the House of Commons against the Bishop of Cork, which was referred to the College Committee, and afterwards sent up, with many others, to the House of Lords.

[a] The Senior Fellows were Kerdiffe, Chaplain to the Bishop of Meath, and very hostile, Conway, Hoyle, and Ware.

[b] The Act of Acceptance is as follows:

"We the Provost Fellows and scholars of the College near Dublin have decreed on the 11 day of May in the year of our Lord 1637 and of the reign of our Sovereign Lord King Charles the 13th to accept and receive the new Charter and Statutes sent unto us from his Majesty. And by these presents we do in all humility and thankfulness accept and receive the same to all those ends and purposes whereunto they are by his Majesty sent unto us. In witness whereof we have subscribed these presents.

"Dated June 5
"A. D. 1637.

"Wm. Chappell Provost.
John Harding.
Thos. Marshall.
Ro. Conway.
Nath. Hoyle.
Arth. Ware."

In the charges against Provost Chappell presented to the House of Commons, one is, that he, with two Fellows, William Newman and Robert Conway, were the only persons who accepted the Charter. To what this alludes I cannot guess. There appears but one acceptance, which is given above, signed by the Provost and five Senior Fellows, when Mr. Newman had ceased to be a Fellow. It has been conjectured, that the Provost and these two Fellows must have given some consent to receiving a Charter,

June, 1637, being Trinity Monday, and signed by the Provost and five Senior Fellows. On the same day, at three o'clock, the Primate and the Archbishop of Dublin went into the chapel of the College, and the Provost and Fellows took the oaths prescribed by the new Statutes[c]. The Visitors having retired, the Provost and Fellows proceeded to fill up the number of Senior Fellows for the first time during two years, and then they elected six Junior Fellows to complete the whole body.

Soon after this Archbishop Laud expresses to the Lord Deputy his satisfaction, "that the differences of the College are at last appeased." He then adds: "Great pity it is that such young fellows and so ill conditioned as Fesant

which was in contemplation at the same time that they passed the vote rescinding the Statute about the majority, and that this act would account for the severity of the Visitors, who must have been offended at the attempt to remove them. But the report to the Commons speaks of the Charter having been received by them alone, though professing to be with the consent of the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars. Besides, it is more than probable that the change of Visitors was suggested to Archbishop Laud by the events of the Visitation. The only mode of accounting for the charge seems to be, that the accusers of Bishop Chappell were not very exact, provided they could secure his condemnation, and mixed up the two transactions; the events previous to the Visitation with the acceptance of the Charter.

[c] The principal points of difference between the old and new Charter were, that the appointment to the Provostship was lodged in the Crown; that the duration of a Fellowship was for life; that the power of making Statutes was reserved to the King; that the number of Visitors was reduced to two, and a reference in all cases of moment required to the Chancellor; and that the appointment of the Vice-Chancellor was in the Chancellor. The change in the appointment of the Provost was merely nominal, for the King had interfered in every election from the foundation of the College. The limitation of a Fellowship in the first Charter to seven years from the degree of A. M., however necessary and useful for an infant establishment, was calculated to keep the Society in a state of perpetual imbecility. In ordinary cases there could not be any Fellow more than thirty years of age, not any who had taken the first degree in Divinity, though their oath bound them to that study, not an individual who could be elected Provost. It was a strange anomaly in the Charter, that while the duration of a Fellowship was thus confined to seven years, there was no limit whatever to the tenure of a scholarship. It is to be remarked, however, that the College did not resign the old Charter. They only accepted the new one, which recited the old one, and confirmed it in most parts.

and Cullen[d] should be able to get within the Visitors and cause such disturbances; but the expulsion of Fesant being so deseruedly laid hold on, hath wrought that cure, if a full cure it be: for your Lordship knows as well as I that the disease hath another cause[e], which cannot be expelled, and therefore the malady may I doubt fret inwardly still." This cause was, no doubt, the bad feeling that subsisted between the Primate and the Provost. Lord Strafford, in answer, says: "I[f] hope all is very right betwixt my Lord Primate and the Provost, and I trust will so continue. However, I shall certainly awake to the prevention of any disturbance, which might unsettle the peace of the College—And if there were any thing in me to contribute to the benefit and preferment of the Provost, I should run to it with all my heart for he is a very worthy person; always provided he continue Provost, for I assure you, he hath begot a mighty reformation amongst them. And I see that good work might and will prosper in his hands, and therefore great pity it were to remove him thence. I assure you I do not know where he can do more service to the Church and Commonwealth, yet I would not be misunderstood, I am not minded to punish him for his merit, or be against his advancement, were it to the best Bishoprick in the Kingdom, for he deserves it, but still conditionally that he keep the College. In the mean space he hath better than £500 a year and is

[d] Yet Cullen, at this time, was a Senior Fellow, having been coopted on the day the new Charter was received.

[e] Chappell himself referred all the disturbances in College to the Primate and the Bishop of Meath:

—— "Primatus in me odium interim est
Midensis haud languet (subige Deus animos)
Collegii male administrati arguor
(Quod ipsi adegerant miserrimum in statum
Ego reparaveram) Bicius urget Domum."

By Bicius he means John Bysse, the Recorder of Dublin.

[f] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 120. Lord Strafford, for the purpose of improving the discipline of the College, and also of assimilating it to the Universities of England, issued an Act of the Lord Deputy and Council, giving to the Proctor of the University jurisdiction in the city of Dublin. This Act was signed by the Primate, the Chancellor (Loftus), and fifteen other Privy Councillors.

passing well contented withal. I have so great an opinion of his government and integrity that I am putting my son thither under his eye and care; by which you will judge I purpose not to have him one of Prynne's disciples."

In the next letter of Archbishop Laud, it appears very evident what judgment he would have given, had he been called upon to decide between the Visitors and the Provost. His words are: "I[g] should never have betrayed so deserving a man for any man's greatness, but God be thanked, tis much better as it is and I heartily thank you for it." The conduct of Archbishop Laud and Lord Strafford towards the College seems to have met with general approbation at the time, for, among the various charges brought against each of them on their trials, no accusation was preferred respecting their government of the College, with the exception of their promoting Chappell. Dr. Heylin, in his Life of the Archbishop, says: "Nor[h] could his care and providence for the encouragement of learning be confined to this side of the sea: the like course being taken by him shortly after, as well for reviving and perfecting the broken statutes of the College near Dublin as the enlarging the privileges of that University."

Scarcely had a year elapsed[i], when the differences between the Primate and the Provost were renewed, and there can be no doubt whatever that the justice of the case lay with the Primate, who was supported by the powerful but unavailing aid of the Bishop of Derry. Chappell was promoted to the Bishopric of Cork, and allowed to hold the Provostship in commendam, thus exhibiting a direct violation of the Statutes[k] within a year of their being promulgated.

[g] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 132.

[h] Cyprianus Anglicus, pag. 316.

[i] In this interval the Primate was in considerable danger from the overturning of his carriage. The particulars are not handed down to us, but the accident is thus alluded to, in a letter from the Archbishop of Canterbury to the Bishop of Derry, dated Feb. 17, 163$\frac{1}{8}$: "I am very glad to hear, since my Lord Primate had a mischance by his coach, he caught no harm by it."—*Rawdon Papers*, pag. 48.

[k] Another direct violation of the Statutes was committed at the same time. Dr. Harding, Vice-Provost, who had been admitted a Fellow by

Lord Strafford says: "I take it to heart to continue the Provost in the College howbeit the Primate is or shortly will be bitterly out with him, and the Bishop of Derry affectionate for Mr. Howlet to succeed in the Provostship."

Archbishop Laud, in answer to Lord Strafford, says: "My last gave your Lordship notice that both the Primate and my Lord of Derry were earnest with me by their several letters, not against the Provost but for Mr. Howlet, in regard they thought the Statute would no way bear his continuance[m] in the College. I likewise acquainted you what answer I had given both of them. But I am very heartily sorry to hear that there is like to be a new quarrel between the Primate and the Provost. And if your Lordship take his stay in the College to heart, as you write you do, you must prevent that quarrel, or else you will have a party raised in the College to hinder all the good which the Provost might do, which is the chief aim of your wishing his stay there. And methinks you might speak privately with the Primate, and so do what you would with him. As for the Bishop of Derry, I presume you can rule him; but

mandamus the preceding year, was presented to a living by Lord Strafford, which obliged him, in compliance with his oath, to vacate his Fellowship. He accordingly did resign, but immediately produced a King's letter to be restored to his fellowship without taking the oath of a Fellow. The reason assigned for this extraordinary favor was, that he was tutor to Lord Strafford's son, and to the sons of some other Privy Councillors.

[l] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 194.

[m] The Provostship was again held with a bishopric, when, in 1644, the Bishop of Meath (Martin) was appointed Provost, and held the place till he died of the plague in 1650. An attempt was made by the Lord Lieutenant, in 1794, to make the Bishop of Cloyne (Bennet) Provost, but was prevented by the determined resistance of the Fellows, who presented a petition to the King in person. Of the attempt to force the Bishop of Cloyne upon the College Edmund Burke thus speaks: "One Dr. Bennet, not content with his Bishopric, was so greedy and so frantic at this time when the Church labours under so much odium for avarice, as to wish to rob the members of its seminary, men of the first character in learning and morals, of their legal rights, and by dispensation to grapple to himself, a stranger and wholly unacquainted with the body, its lucrative Provostship as a commendam."—See *Epist. Corres. with Rt. Hon. Ed. Burke and Dr. Laurence*, pag. 307. The Fellows, hearing that the recommendation of the Bishop of Cloyne had actually been sent over by the Lord Lieutenant, the Earl of Westmoreland (and it appears, from the correspondence of

if this be not done, you were better send the Provost with honor to his bishoprick, and think of as good a successor as you can for the College." Lord Strafford would not yield; he had determined to keep Chappell Provost, and he braved all the evils which resulted from such an unwise measure. He seems, however, to have taken Archbishop Laud's advice in one particular, and to have conferred with the Primate, as appears from the following curious passage in a subsequent letter: "The Primate hath not been here this winter howbeit I was one night with his Grace at Drogheda where his Lordship made me a noble welcome. Found there the best house I have seen in Ireland, built by Primate Hampton; yet not so much as a communion table in the Chapel, which seemed to me strange: no bowing there I warrant you." Upon this the Archbishop remarks: "I am glad your Lordship hath been at Drogheda and that there you find one of the best houses in Ireland. It seems Primate Hampton did that good to the see. And truly I would wonder, that the Chapel should have never a Communion table in it, save that I know some divines are of opinion, that nothing belonging to that Sacrament is ought extra

the Bishop with Dr. Parr, that they were rightly informed), took the bold step of presenting a petition to the Bishop of Cloyne himself, and explaining the incompatibility of a commendam with the Statutes. The following is the Bishop's account of the transaction: "I did not answer the College address argumentatively but gave them their own words, 'that I should both for their sakes and my own weigh maturely the reasons for my determination.' I hear they were astonished at the politeness of their reception: I conclude they were conscious of the malice concealed in their address and expected to be kicked down stairs."—*Parr's Works*, vol. i. pag. 480. It certainly was sufficient reason to petition against the Bishop's fitness for the Provostship, if they expected that he would kick down stairs two clergymen who waited upon him. The facts, however, were totally different. The two individuals who waited upon him were a Senior and Junior Fellow, Dr. Hall and Mr. Elrington, who were afterwards successively Provosts. They gave no copy of their address, and the Bishop received them under the idea that they were frightened at their useless opposition, and came now to conciliate. As Dr. Hall read on the Bishop became aware of the real nature of the address, and appeared greatly disconcerted. He was taken so much by surprise, that he could only *give them back their own words*, and sent them away, saying he would send an answer, which never arrived.

usum, and do therefore set the table aside in any corner (good enough for it) save only at the time of administration. Now I pray you tell me in good earnest, may not Churches and Chapels be thought so too, might they be as easily removed and set up again as the tables may? But I take myself bound to give you an account, why I think all will not be quiet between my Lord Primate and my Lord of Cork. The truth is when I understood your Lordship's mind so fully set to have my Lord of Cork continue Provost, I writ to my Lord Primate a very fair answer to a letter[n] of his, which he had written against it. In that my letter I made a fair interpretation for the Provost's holding the College in commendam, and as I thought then and do still a just one: to this I added this clause that it was fit for his Lordship and myself to give your Lordship all content[o] in any thing we might possibly do, considering what a great benefactor under God and the King you have been to the Church of Ireland. But since these letters of mine, sent four months at least, I never heard word from my Lord Primate. And I take it his Grace hath printed a book since that and sent me never a copy, unless perchance it have miscarried."

The book to which Archbishop Laud alludes was "Immanuel or the Mystery of the Incarnation of the Son of God." That the Primate did not resent, however he might have disapproved, the continuance of Bishop Chappell as Provost, is evident from this very book, for it is dedicated to Lord Strafford as "Grati animi qualecunque testimonium." This treatise, as it has been before stated, was the substance of several sermons preached by the Primate at Drogheda, and is as simple as the nature of the subject would

[n] The letter is given in the Works, vol. xvi. pag. 36.

[o] This is no excuse for Archbishop Laud, the Chancellor of the University, to suffer the Statutes to be trampled upon. It is quite evident he felt himself wrong, for he says in the very same letter: "And yet further I believe this business of my Lord of Corkes holding the College thrives never the better, because I know my Lord of Derry was as earnest with me as the Primate himself was, that the College could not be held in commendam by the Statutes." The Bishop of Cork did hold the Provostship till July, 1640.

permit; it consists principally of a collection of texts from Scripture skilfully arranged. There does not seem any thing peculiar in his view of the subject.

At this time the Primate was again involved in a dispute with Bishop Bedell, and it must be acknowledged, that his Grace allowed his ancient friend to be most unjustly trampled upon by his Court. The Primate had particularly recommended to Bishop Bedell Mr. King, a convert from Popery, as the fittest person to assist him in translating the Bible into Irish. The Bishop was so pleased with Mr. King, that he gave him a living in his diocese, where he finished his translation. But soon a stop was put by violence to this most useful undertaking. Representations were made to the Archbishop of Canterbury, that King was not a person fit to be intrusted with such an undertaking, and his Grace informed Bishop Bedell, that "the man whom he employed to translate the Bible into Irish was a man so ignorant that the translation cannot be worthy publick use in the Church, and besides obnoxious, so as the Church can receive no credit from any thing that is his." Bishop Bedell, in a letter to Lord Strafford, vindicates him from this charge, by appealing for his character to Archbishop Ussher, the Bishop of Meath, Lord Dillon, and Sir James Ware. He then proceeds to detail the various outrages that have been perpetrated under the color of law. It appears that a young man named Bailey pretended that the living, which the Bishop had given to Mr. King, had lapsed to the Crown, obtained a grant of it under the Great Seal, and thrust the legal incumbent out of his benefice. The Bishop cited Bailey before him, and remonstrated with him upon his violent intrusion into another man's benefice, and upon his having perjured himself, for he had taken an oath on receiving a vicarage not to accept any other. Bailey procured a dispensation from the Prerogative Court, notwithstanding his oath, to hold more benefices. The Bishop considering this as one of the worst and most scandalous abuses of Popery, and having tried all gentler methods of influencing Bailey, finally proceeded to deprive him of his benefice, and excommunicated him. Bailey appealed to the Prerogative Court, and

the Bishop was cited to appear before them. He appeared, but declined the authority of the Surrogates. He gave in his reasons in twenty-four articles for refusing to answer to any person but the Primate. The Court, however, persevered, declared the Bishop contumacious, absolved the offender from his sentence, and restored him to his benefice. "The strangest part," says Bishop Burnett, "of this transaction was that which the Primate acted, who though he loved the Bishop beyond all the rest of his order, and valued him highly for the zealous discharge of his office, that distinguished him so much from others; yet he could not be prevailed on to interpose in the matter nor to stop the unjust prosecution[p] that this good man had fallen under for so good a work." It cannot be ascertained what was the cause of the Primate's conduct. His biographers are silent upon the subject. From a letter of Lord Strafford's, already quoted, it appears that the Primate had not been in Dublin, and he might, therefore, not be fully acquainted with the proceedings of the High Commission Court; but it is not within the limits of possibility, that one of his Suffragan Bishops could have been summoned to his Court without notice having been given him of such a remarkable circumstance. It has been already remarked, that the Primate had

[p] The unfortunate Mr. King, now far advanced in years, suffered even more than the Bishop. His sufferings are thus detailed by Bishop Bedell to Lord Strafford: "Touching his being obnoxious, it is true there is a scandalous information put in against him in the High Commission Court by his despoiler Mr. Baily (as my Lord of Derry told him in my hearing he was) and by an excommunicate despoiler, as myself before the execution of any sentence declar'd him in the Court to be. And Mr. King being cited to answer and not appearing (as by law he was not bound) was taken pro confesso, deprived of his ministry and living, fined an hundred pound, decreed to be attached and imprisoned. His adversary Mr. Baily, before he was sentenced, purchased a new dispensation to hold his benefice, and was the very next day after (as appears by the date of the institution) both presented on the Kings title (although the benefice be of my collation) and instituted by my Lord Primate's Vicar: shortly after inducted by an Archdeacon of another diocess, and a few days after he brought down an attachment and delivered Mr. King to the Pursuvant: He was haled by the head and feet to horseback, and brought to Dublin, where he hath been kept, and continued under arrest there four or five months: and hath not been suffered to purge his supposed contempt by

been very averse to Bishop Bedell's mode of proceeding towards the Irish, but his scruples with respect to instructing them in the Irish language must have been entirely removed, when he recommended Mr. King as a fit person to translate the Bible into Irish. The cause of the Primate's abandoning the Bishop to his enemies must have been, that his Grace felt alarm at the novel measures which were adopted by Bishop Bedell, and dreaded the subversion of the Establishment. While this contest with Bailey was proceeding, Bishop Bedell had summoned a synod of his clergy, and enacted canons for their government. This was considered as a measure of a very questionable character, and though the High Commission Court did not take any proceedings against the Bishop, and though it is said that the Primate recommended his opponents to let him alone, "lest he should be thereby provoked to say more for himself, than any of his accusers could say against him," yet many able civilians considered that the assembly was illegal, and that the enacting of canons subjected him to a Præmunire; and certainly no bishop, either in England or Ireland, ever ventured to follow his example. The Primate's mild disposition might have shrunk from engaging in such turbulent discussions, as he had some years before from the contro-

oath and witnesses; that by reason of his sickness he was hindred, whereby he was brought to death's door, and could not appear and prosecute his defence: and that by the cunning of his adversary he was circumvented, intreating that he might be restored to liberty and his cause into the former estate. But it hath not availed him: my reverend colleagues of the High Commission do some of them pity his case, others say the sentence passed cannot be reversed, lest the credit of the Court be attached. They bid him simply submit himself and acknowledge his sentence just. Whereas the Bishops of Rome themselves after most formal proceedings do grant restitution in integrum and acknowledge that, Sententia Romanæ Sedis potest in melius commutari. My Lord, if I understand what is right divine or humane, there be wrongs upon wrongs; which if they reached only to Mr. Kings person were of less consideration; but when through his side that great work, the translation of Gods book, so necessary for both his Majesty's kingdoms, is mortally wounded, pardon me, I beseech your Lordship, if I be sensible of it, I omit to consider what feast our adversaries make of our rewarding him thus for that service; or what this example will avail the alluring of others to conformity."—*Life of Bedell by Bishop Burnett*, pag. 103, 104.

versies about the ecclesiastical courts, yet we must deplore the abandonment of the pious and ardent Bishop to the tyrannical proceedings of the High Commission Court, and the suspension of his most salutary measures for the propagation of true religion among the Irish peasantry. From a passage in the letter of Bishop Bedell to the Lord Deputy, it would seem that Bishop Bramhall had taken his part against Bailey, but without success. It is strange that, when so many circumstances connected with the Church, of much less consequence, are mentioned in the correspondence between the Archbishop of Canterbury and the Lord Deputy, there should be no allusion to the case of Bishop Bedell. It might reasonably be expected, that the enactment of diocesan canons would have attracted the notice of the Archbishop, ever watchful about the minutest questions of Church discipline, but, while the disputes in remote parishes form a subject of correspondence, not the slightest mention is made of the diocese of Kilmore.

In August[q], 1639, was published the Primate's long expected work, "Britannicarum Ecclesiarum Antiquitates." It had been commenced at the request of King James, and, at the interval of nearly twenty years, was published with a dedication to his son. To panegyrize this extraordinary

[q] The precise date is given in the following letter from the Primate to the Bishop of Derry, published in the Rawdon Papers:

"My very good Lord,

"I joyed much to receive a letter written with your own hand after so dangerous an accident, and so much the more, that I understood thereby what good use you have made of that fatherly chastisement wherewith it hath pleased God (with so gracious an event) to visit you, for the continuance of whose blessings towards you my prayers shall never be wanting. The public troubles that are feared from Scotland begin now to drown all the thoughts we have had either of our own or our friends private grievances. The first day of July came out that Protestation of the Covenanters, which manifested how guilefully they have circumvented their good King with a semblance of a pretended peace. The 29th of the same month at four of the clock in the morning His Majesty went in poste from Barwick and afterwards rested at Theobalds, whence he now—(with safety of his sacred person) expecteth the issue of that conferred assembly, which is to begin on Monday next. In that same month of July victorious Duke Bernard died of a burning fever. Yesterday I received the first entire copy of my book and I now give order that one of them shall be presently

monument of human learning is unnecessary, to detail its contents impossible. The author, commencing with the first introduction of Christianity into the British isles, continues his laborious researches to the close of the seventh century. He commences his history with the various fabulous narratives respecting the introduction of Christianity into Britain, through which he steers his course with great caution. He thence proceeds to the formation of the different British sees, and the first notices of British bishops in ecclesiastical history, with the accounts of the Diocletian persecution, and the early events of the life of Constantine. Upon the introduction of the Pelagian heresy he dwells more fully, and gives a minute and detailed account of its various forms and various authors, down to the arrival of Augustine in Eng-

sent down unto you. How my woods of Lisson are used, your Lordship may see by the enclosed letter of Mr. Chambers. Whether that Mr. Church which he speaketh of be the man whom your Lordship committed the care of marking the trees unto, I know not; and thus doth Sir Thomas Staples serve his own turn sure enough; but for the payment of his rent returneth me for answer, that there is no money in the country. I should take it for a great favour at his hands, that I should have no rent paid me at all, and that he would leave my woods entire and unwasted to my successor. Whereby I know your Lordship will have a care also, when God shall restore you to your perfect strength: for which none shall more heartily pray than

"Your Lordship's most faithful
"friend and loving brother
"JA. ARMACHANUS.

"*Termonfechin Aug.* 10 1639."

Thus superscribed:

"To the Right Reverend Father
in God, my very good Lord
and brother, the Lo. Bishop
of Derrye These D. D."

Archbishop Ussher had frequently borne testimony to the care with which Bishop Bramhall executed his task as one of the Royal Commissioners. In a letter, dated within a year after the Act passed for the preservation of Church property, the Primate says: "I find by the catalogue of compositions, that the augmentation of the rents of this see amounteth to £735. 4. 4 per annum, and that you have now passed the greater part of your journey. Not only myself but all my successors will have cause to honor the memory of the Lord Deputy and yours, whom God hath used as an instrument to bring this work to such perfection."

land. The learned author then turns his attention to another part of the country, and traces the colonies of the Picts and Scots in their various movements. He concludes with their conversion to Christianity, and a full account of the preaching of St. Patrick and other Irish saints. The first edition of this work was printed in quarto, 1639. The author prepared numerous additions for another edition, but did not live to publish it. It was printed long after his death at London, in folio, in the year 1677.

The Primate was called upon to preach before the Parliament assembled in March, $163\frac{9}{40}$. His text was: "Moses[r] commanded us a law even the inheritance of the congregation of Jacob. And he was King in Jeshurun when the heads of the people and the tribes of Israel were gathered together." This was the last public act which the Primate performed in Ireland, and immediately after he went over to England with his family, intending to remain for a considerable time, in order to pursue his literary labours in London and Oxford. It proved, however, a final farewell to his native country, which was soon after plunged in all the horrors of massacre and civil war, and only recovered from them with such a change in its ecclesiastical constitution that the Primate's return there was impossible. The Primate found the King in unfortunate collision with his newly assembled Parliament, and having waited on his Majesty, by whom he was most graciously received, proceeded without delay to Oxford. He was lodged in Christ Church, where apartments were provided for him by Dr. Morice, one of the Canons, and Hebrew Professor in the University. There he was allowed to devote himself to study only for a short period, having been called up to London, in order that his influence and advice might calm the contentions, which were now assuming a most alarming appearance. Sir George Wentworth, writing to the Bishop of Derry, in June, 1640, mentions, that "My Lord Primate is very much followed here upon Sundays, hath been often with his Majesty and well used, but I cannot well tell whether

[r] Deuteron. cap. 33. v. 4. 5.

he is commanded to print his sermons, or to state the question of Scotland; I hear it said the latter. Mr. Pryn is very much with his Lordship, who lives at Warwick House whose company we have sometimes."

The clamor against episcopacy being then very violent, the Primate endeavoured to devise a plan which might satisfy the more moderate reformers. He appears to have been employed in drawing up some paper on the subject, whether at the request of the King or not is unknown, when the unfinished manuscript was stolen out of his writing desk and printed with the following title, "The directions of the Archbishop of Armagh concerning the Liturgy and episcopal government." The Primate immediately applied to the House of Commons, and an order was issued for suppressing the book, in the following form:

"An order of the Commons House of Parliament for the suppressing of another[s] pamphlet falsely fathered upon the said Archbishop of Armagh Die Martis 9. Feb. 1640.

"Whereas complaint hath been made unto us by James Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, that a certain pamphlet hath been lately most ingeniously fathered[t] upon him and spread under the false title of the Bishop of Armagh, 'Directions to the House of Parliament concerning the Liturgy and episcopal government.' It is this day ordered in the Commons House of Parliament, that the Master and company of Stationers and all others whom it may concern shall take such course for the

[s] Dr. Bernard states, that this alludes to a pamphlet called "Vox Hyberniæ," which had been published in the Primate's name, and suppressed by an order of the House of Peers, but in this he must be mistaken, as the order against the publisher of "Vox Hyberniæ" was not made for a year after. I have not discovered the pamphlet referred to.

[t] Notwithstanding this application of the Primate, declaring the book to be spurious, the Puritans republished it in 1660, as a genuine work, so that, as Dr. Bernard says, "it is sold up and down as his and accordingly produced at this day by many upon all occasions to his great injury." They added to the title the following paragraph, which was notoriously false: "Being thereunto requested by the Honourable the House of Commons, and then presented in the year 1642."

suppressing of the said book, that they shall not suffer it to be put in print; or if it be already printed, not permit the same to be divulged; and if any man shall presume to print or publish the book above mentioned that he or they shall be then liable to the censure of the said House.

"H. ELSYNG. Cler. Dom. Com."

Whitelocke mentions the attempt of the Primate as if it had been authoritatively made in some shape or other, for he says: "The Primate of Armrgh offered an expedient for conjunction in point of discipline, that episcopal and presbyterial government might not be at a far distance, reducing episcopacy to the form of a synodical government in the ancient church." Dr. Bernard published, in 1658, what he declares to have been the real plan of the Archbishop; the title is, "The[a] reduction of Episcopacy unto the form of synodical government received in the ancient Church: Proposed in the year 1641 as an expedient for the prevention of those troubles which afterwards did arise about the matter of Church government." This tract, if it be really printed as the Archbishop wrote it, and had not first received some pruning from the antiepiscopal prepossessions of Dr. Bernard, was certainly a very great concession to popular clamor. The four propositions, of which it consists, are essentially the same with those respecting Church government laid down by Knox and the heads of the Presbyterian party, except that they require the appointment of Chorepiscopi or suffragan bishops, equal in number to the rural deaneries, and conformable to the Act passed in the twenty-sixth year of Henry VIII., and revived in the first of Elizabeth. It would seem that, by taking away from bishops all power of order and jurisdiction, there was left to them but the empty title of superintendent or president of the ecclesiastical Synod. If the Primate ever did make such a concession, it must have arisen from the effect produced upon his gentle nature by the violent commotions which he

[a] The tract has been republished in the twelfth volume of the Archbishop's works, pag. 527.

witnessed. He must have considered resistance impossible, and that the preservation of any shadow of our ecclesiastical constitution was better, than the risk of its total destruction before the reforming rage of the Lower House of Parliament. Almost immediately after he published opinions on the subject much more in conformity with his station in the Church, and maintained with great effect the apostolical origin and establishment of bishops.

We come now to a transaction which involves most deeply the Archbishop's character, and is very differently related by different authors. The pusillanimous conduct of nearly one-half the House of Lords had occasioned the passing of the bill of attainder against Lord Strafford, and all the measures of intimidation which had been successful with the Lords were exerted to extort the King's consent to the iniquitous sentence, a sentence which, as has been truly remarked, "was a greater enormity than the worst of those which his implacable enemies prosecuted with so much cruel industry." Betrayed by his Privy Council, deserted by his Judges, Charles applied for advice to five of his Bishops, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of London (Juxon), the Bishop of Durham (Morton), the Bishop of Lincoln (Williams), and the Bishop of Carlisle (Potter), and unfortunately did not receive that support which was to be expected from such a consultation. The situation of the Bishops was, however, one of extreme difficulty. As it has been well expressed, "The[v] misery of these learned men must have equalled the conviction of their impotence. A remedy was asked for the remediless. They sadly knew their weakness. Already they were degraded in the eyes of their country. They were about to be rejected from the rights of free men, to give an equal vote with their fellow-citizens; nor could they be insensible, while their chief lay in the durance of the Tower, and the screams of a maddened populace were echoing, 'No Bishops,' that heads more able to contrive mischief than their own, and hands more skilful in the arts of destruction, were fast undermining the Hie-

[v] D'Israeli's Life and Reign of Charles I., vol. iv. pag. 182.

rarchy. In that day of dereliction and terror could the Bishops be more exempt from the common infirmities of our nature, than were all the Right Honorable Privy Councillors? These already had bowed with 'hat in hand giving them good words' to the insolent citizens, as these Lords going to their House tremblingly passed through their sullen lines, promising, provided they would be quiet, the blood of Strafford! Or were the Bishops to be less terrified than those oracles of the law, who in the sanctuary of justice, sitting at the tribunal of life and death, had revoked their decree and vacillated, till they echoed the cry of the populace around them?"

Yet, even in that day of dereliction and terror, two of those bishops rose superior to all the alarms of earthly violence, and did advise their wretched sovereign not to do any thing against his conscience, and those two were Archbishop Ussher and Bishop Juxon. Yet such was, such is, among many writers, the anxious wish to throw odium upon the episcopal order, that the conduct of these two great and good men has been arraigned, and they have been held up as betrayers of their trust, against evidence, which seems to defy every attempt at cavil. The basest motives have been assigned for deciding the Primate's conduct; it has been stated that he was influenced by revenge for Strafford having outwitted him in superseding the Irish Articles and passing the English Articles in their place. We might appeal to the whole life and conduct of the Primate, whether there is one single incident to be found, which could justify an accusation of such base, deliberate malignity. While the Roman Emperor has been handed down with infamy to posterity by the philosophic historian, as "odium in longum jaciens," his deep-laid schemes do not exhibit an instance of human depravity so revolting, as the fiendlike motives attributed to the mild and pious Ussher. If we must condescend to refute the infamous calumny, surely there are abundant materials in the conduct of the Primate towards Strafford during his trial, his visits to him in the Tower, both before and after his condemnation, his being selected by the noble victim as the person to bear his last

request to Archbishop Laud, and still further, to attend him in the awful closing scene of his life.

Dr. Bernard gives the following account of the transaction, from a manuscript in the Primate's handwriting: "That Sunday morning wherein the King consulted the four Bishops[w] (of London, Durham, Lincoln and Carlile) the Archbishop of Armagh was not present, being then preaching (as he then accustomed every Sunday to do) in the Church of Covent-Garden; where a message coming unto him from his Majesty, he descended from the pulpit, and told him that brought it, he was then (as he saw) imployed about God's business; which as soon as he had done, he would attend upon the King, to understand his pleasure: but the King spending the whole afternoon in the serious debate of the Lord Strafford's case, with the Lords of his Council, and the Judges of the land, he could not before evening be admitted to his Majesty's presence.

"There the question was again agitated, whether the King in justice, might pass the bill of attainder against the Earl of Strafford, (for that he might shew mercy to him was no question at all;) no man doubting but that the King, without any scruple of conscience, might have granted him a pardon, if other reasons of State (in which the Bishops were made neither judges, nor advisers) did not hinder him. The whole result therefore of the determination of the Bishops, was to this effect: That therein the matter of fact,

[w] Carte says that the Parliament appointed four bishops, the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishops of Durham, Lincoln, and Carlisle, being all Calvinists, and in favor with the faction. That the King, distrusting the four, sent first for Bishop Juxon, who advised him not on any consideration to pass a bill of attainder against the dictates of his conscience. When the other bishops came they acted the part assigned to them, for which they had been very properly chosen by the heads of the faction, and advised his Majesty to pass the bill. The four bishops came again in the evening to renew the charge. The extraordinary falsehoods contained in the above statement afford a melancholy proof of the force of prejudice. In order to exalt Bishop Juxon at the expense of the other four, Carte invents a new arrangement. He makes the Primate present when he was absent, and he makes Bishop Juxon absent in the evening, when he was present. It seems to have been sufficient for Carte that they were selected by the Parliament; they must be made guilty at all events.

and matter of law, were to be distinguished: That of the matter of fact, he himself might make a judgment, having been present at all proceedings against the said Earl; where, if upon the hearing of the allegations on either side, he did not conceive him guilty of the crimes wherewith he was charged, he could not in justice condemn him: but for the matter in law, what was treason, and what was not, he was to rest in the opinion of the Judges; whose office it was to declare the law, and who were sworn therein to carry themselves indifferently betwixt him, and his subjects: Which gave his Majesty occasion to complain of the dealing of the Judges with him not long before: That having earnestly pressed them to declare in particular, what point of the Lord of Strafford's charge they judged to be treasonable, (forasmuch as upon the hearing of the proofs produced, he might in his conscience, perhaps, find him guiltless of that fact) he could not by any means draw them to nominate any in particular, but that upon the whole matter, treason might justly be charged upon him. And in this second meeting, it was observed, that the Bishop of London spake nothing at all[x], but the Bishop of Lincoln not only spake, but put a writing also into the King's hand, wherein, what was contained, the rest of his brethren knew not."

Upon this narrative Dr. Parr remarks, that it gives proof "of the Primate's modesty, who would not set down his own particular judgment in the matter, but only that it agreed with that of his brethren, and also of his charity and fidelity, who would not (though to acquit himself) betray his trust and accuse the only person of that company, who was supposed to have moved the King to the doing of it."

[x] For this silence Bishop Juxon has been accused of acting cunningly; but he had most decidedly given his opinion in the morning against the casuistry of Bishop Williams, and his subsequent silence could not have been unintelligible to the distressed monarch. The objections of Bishop Juxon to this doctrine were distinctly stated by the King to Sir Edward Walker: "Having ascribed the opinion that the king had a double capacity of a public and a private man to Ussher, the king replied, 'No, I assure you it was not he;' whence I infer that it was either York or Durham, for at the same time the king fully justified the Bishop of London for his stout opinion against it."—Pag. 360.

It is fortunate, however, for the character of the Primate, that he was compelled to disclose the whole case, and vindicate himself from the odious charge. When he was supposed to be dying, at St. Donate's castle in Wales, Dr. Parr asked his Grace whether he had advised the King to pass the bill against the Earl of Strafford. To which the Primate answered: "I know there is such a thing most wrongfully laid to my charge; for I neither gave nor approved of any such advice as that the King should assent to the bill against the Earl; but on the contrary told his Majesty, that if he was satisfied by what he heard at his trial, that the Earl was not guilty of treason, his Majesty ought not in conscience to consent to his condemnation. And this the King knows well enough, and can clear me if he pleases." The hope of the Primate was fulfilled, for, when a report reached Oxford that the Primate was dead, the King expressed in very strong terms, to Colonel William Legg and Mr. Kirk, who were then in waiting, his regret at the event, speaking in high terms of his piety and learning. Some one present said, "he believed he might be so, were it not for his persuading your Majesty to consent to the Earl of Strafford's execution;" to which the King in a great passion replied, "that it was false, for after the bill was passed the Archbishop came to me, saying with tears in his eyes, Oh Sir, what have you done? I fear that this act may prove a great trouble to your conscience and pray God that your Majesty may never suffer by the signing of this bill." Dr. Parr states, that he had certificates in the handwriting of both those gentlemen asserting these facts.

It seems unnecessary to pursue this subject further, but it may be added that, the day after the bill had been passed, the King selected the Primate as the fittest person to be intrusted with a message of the most interesting kind, to be delivered to the Earl privately. The memorandum[y] was preserved in the Primate's Almanack.

[y] This memorandum was preserved by Primate Margetson, and shewn by him to Mr. Radcliff, who enclosed a copy to the Earl's son, William, Earl of Strafford, in the following note:

"My Lord,—Since I wrote last to your Lordship, my Lord Primate

"May 11, 1641.

"The King wisheth me to deliver unto my Lord Strafforde tomorrow,

"1. That if the Kings life only were hazarded thereby, he would never have given passage unto his death.

"2. That the execution without extream danger could not be deferred.

"3. That he was moved by the Lords for his wife and children and intended to dispose his entire estate upon them.

"4. That if his son be capable, he will take especial notice of him for his imployment and preferment (which I must tell none but him).

"5. That for Lord Chancellor, Lowther, and Derry he stops the proceedings, until they give good reason for their authority.

"6. Lord Dillon's ability above all the natives.

"7. Earle of Ormond shall be Kt. of Garter in his place.

"8. Carpenter to be at liberty to look to his estate or any one whom he shall appoint to have care of his children.

"To move|him for S[r] Th|omas W|harton to be secretary|or groom of the stoole|about the Pr|ince.

"May 12. The Lo. Strafford beheaded at Towre Hill.

"Mem. My Lo. Chancellor, Lo. Lowther and Lo. President of Munster."

In the last letter which Lord Strafford wrote to Sir George Radcliffe, he alludes to this communication from the Primate: "The[z] King saith he will give all my estate to my son, sends me word so by my Lord Primate. Gods goodness be ever amongst us all, this being the last I shall write; and so blessed Jesus receive my soul."

hath shewed me my Lord Primate Ussher's Almanack. In the beginning whereof I found written what is contained in the note I here send your Lordship, the conveyance whereof being the only occasion of this letter.

"I rest, my Lord,

"Your Lordship's most humble

"And obedient Servant,

"THOMAS RADCLIFFE.

"*Dublin, Nov.* 17, 1666.

"P.S. The strokes that are in the two lines after the eighth head were in the original."

[z] Strafford's Letters, vol. ii. pag. 418.

From all this accumulated evidence, nothing can be clearer, than that the Primate did not recommend the King to sign Lord Strafford's death warrant. The unenviable distinction belongs to Bishop Williams, who addressed his monarch with Machiavelian casuistry: he told him "that[a] there was a private and a public conscience; that a public conscience as a King might not only dispense with, but oblige him to do that, which was against his private conscience as a man; and that the question was not whether he would save the Earl of Strafford, but whether he should perish with him; that the conscience of a King to preserve his kingdom, the conscience of a husband to preserve his wife, the conscience of the Father to preserve his children (all which were now in danger) weighed down abundantly all the considerations the conscience of a Master or a friend could suggest to him for the preservation of a friend or a servant." Well might Lord Clarendon[b] call such arguments "unprelatical and ignominious."

But this sophistical argument did not comprise the whole of what Bishop Williams did. He gave into the King's hand a paper, which was not communicated to any of the other Bishops. This paper, most probably, determined the King, yet there is considerable doubt as to what it contained. Bishop Hacket, the biographer and panegyrist of Bishop Williams, says, that he assured him the following morning, that it was a paper containing reasons against the King's passing the bill for perpetuating the Parliament. This is not credible. It is not to be supposed that Bishop Williams would have selected the moment when the King was anxiously consulting the Bishops about one great ab-

[a] Clarendon's History, vol. i. pag. 342. Ed. 4to.

[b] Mr. D'Israeli remarks: "This argument is so perfectly characteristic of the subtilizing manner of this extraordinary personage, that Clarendon cannot be accused of purposely rendering the sophistry more odious than it is; he has certainly stated it with a malicious perspicacity." I cannot discover the malice of Lord Clarendon, in stating the argument clearly and distinctly. If he stated with *perspicacity* what Bishop Williams said, the admirers of that prelate (if any he has) have no reason to complain. Mr. Brodie says Clarendon unjustly condemns Bishop Williams, because the other bishops acquiesced. It is clear that all the other bishops did not assent to this casuistry, and Lord Clarendon does censure the bishops for not protesting more strongly against it.

sorbing question, to offer advice upon a totally different subject, which was evidently considered by the unfortunate Monarch as unimportant, in comparison with the fate of his minister. Besides, the advice is utterly irreconcileable with Bishop Williams' policy, and would have tended to defeat the object of all his casuistry. The popular clamor would have been almost as violent if one bill had been rejected, as if both had. Another, and more probable opinion is, that Bishop Williams delivered to the King the letter of Lord Strafford, releasing him from his promise to protect his life. The subject of this letter is involved in deep mystery. Carte maintains that it was a forgery of Bishop Williams. It is an undoubted fact that Lord Strafford expressed the greatest surprise at learning his fate, and, starting from his chair, exclaimed, "Put not your trust in princes nor in the sons of men, for in them is no salvation." To account for this strong emotion, we must either believe the letter to be a forgery, or assign for the writing it the cold and calculating motive suggested by Hume, so unworthy the character of the magnanimous prisoner. Hume says: "Perhaps Strafford hoped that this unusual instance of generosity would engage the king still more strenuously to support him." Hume has also assigned several reasons for believing the letter to have been sent by Lord Strafford; the strongest of these is the testimony of Clarendon, who certainly considered the letter as genuine: and it would appear that the most convincing argument against its being genuine is to be found in the statesmanlike sagacity of Strafford, who could not have advised a measure, which must, in the end, have proved as ruinous to his master as it was fatal to himself. We must, I fear, acquiesce in the unsatisfactory conclusion at which Mr. D'Israeli arrived, "we must believe that we have the story too imperfectly to comprehend it."

It became the painful duty of the Primate to attend Lord Strafford from the time of the bill passing to his death. It has been already stated that he was the bearer[c] of several

[c] Dr. Aikin, in his Life of the Archbishop, says; "an office which must have been very ungrateful to one who heartily disapproved the act; but

messages from the king to his faithful subject. He was also employed by Lord Strafford to convey his last message to Archbishop Laud. Orders had been issued that the Archbishop should not see Lord Strafford, and this order was enforced even when Strafford, on the night before his execution, requested of the lieutenant of the Tower permission to speak with his venerable friend, saying, "You shall hear what passeth between us, for it is not a time now either for him to plot heresy, or me to plot treason." The lieutenant answered, that he was bound by his orders, and advised him to petition Parliament for that favor. No, said Strafford, with bitter irony, "I have gotten my despatch from them, and will trouble them no more. I am now petitioning a higher court, where neither partiality can be expected, nor error feared." He then turned to Archbishop Ussher, who was in attendance upon him, and said, "My Lord I will tell you what I should have spoken to my Lord's Grace of Canterbury. You shall desire the archbishop to lend me his prayers this night, and to give me his blessing when I go abroad tomorrow; and to be in his window that, by my last farewell, I may give him thanks for this and all his other former favours." The Primate having immediately proceeded to the aged Archbishop's apartments, and delivered him the mournful message, returned to his illustrious friend with the following answer: "That in conscience he was bound to the first, and in duty and obligation to the second; but he feared weakness and passion would not lend him eyes to behold his last departure." In describing the transactions of the next morning, Archbishop Laud said, "As he past by, he turned towards me, and took the solemnest leave that I think was ever by any at distance taken one of another." Solemn indeed it was, for Strafford, attended by Archbishop Ussher, stopped before the window, and, when his venerable friend came to it, bowed himself to the ground, and said,

perhaps the King, who was himself a skilful casuist, had convinced the Primate of its lawfulness."—Pag. 261. To comment upon such a passage would be an insult to the moral feeling of the reader.

"My Lord, your prayers and your blessings." Laud lifted up his hands and bestowed both, and then, overcome with his feelings, fell to the ground senseless; while Strafford, bowing himself a second time, said, "Farewell, my Lord; God protect your innocency." Archbishop Ussher attended this illustrious sufferer to the scaffold, and knelt beside him even in his last devotions at the block. Soon after the execution he went to give an account of his faithful servant to the King, and assured His Majesty "that he had seen many die, but never saw so white a soul return to his Maker." Charles was greatly moved at the recital, and burst into tears. The Primate's admiration of Lord Strafford's conduct is also expressed in the following letter, addressed to Bishop Bramhall:

"MY VERY GOOD LORD,

"However[d] I have been silent all this while (expecting every day to get from his Majesty some such answer as I

[d] Rawdon Papers, pag. 84. There is no date to the letter, nor to the following, which must have been written soon after, though in the Rawdon Papers it is placed first.

"Salutem in Christo Jesu.

"MY LORD,

"The commissioners from the Parliament there are required by the Lords of the Council here to produce, on Monday next, some precedent for their proceedings in any capital cause, since the time of Poyning's Act, otherwise than by Bill: which if they cannot do (as it is verily believed they cannot), no other form of judicatory power is like to be granted unto them; and so all danger, so far as concerneth the main of the matter, is past. Untill that point be determined, we forbear to proceed further; although if that fail, as well as that which you prescribe, all other likely means shall be essayed, and pursued to the utmost for the compassing of that which you desire. And although the thoughts of the highest are for the present wholly taken up with the apprehension both of the voting down of episcopacy by the House of Commons, and the hot pursuit of some troubles which are conceived to be raised as well in England as in Scotland; yet shall no occasion be pretermitted of compassing your desires before your Parliament committee be dismissed which is thought will be in about a fortnight hence. Sir John Clotworthy hath presented a far larger petition to the House of Commons for the abolishing of episcopacy in Ireland than that which you sent unto me, and signed with a huge number of hands. When I shewed unto the King that passage of your letter, that it were no difficult task (if that were thought the way) to get half of those hands to a contrary petition and 50000 of better

might hope would give you full contentment), yet I assure you my care never slackened in soliciting your cause at Court, with as much vigilance as if it did touch mine own person. I never intermitted an occasion of mediating with his Majesty in your behalf, who still pitied your case, acknowledging the faithfulness of your service both to the Church and to him, avowed that you were no more guilty of treason than himself, and assured me that he would do for you all that lay in his power. My Lord Strafford, the very night before his suffering (which was most Christian and magnanimous, *ad stuporem usque*), sent me to the King, giving me in charge, among other particulars, to put him in mind of you and the other two Lords that are under the same pressure, who thereupon declared unto me that he had already given orders that the Parliament was not to proceed in their judgment, until they could shew some precedent of such legal process, exercised there since

number in Ulster to the contrary, he twice wished me to direct you to pursue it: and whilst that the Bishops are there together, it were not amiss that as many hands as could be, should be procured for the continuance of episcopacy; one schedule containing the subscription of the clergy of the land (which are no Bishops), and 4 others of the laity of the 4 provinces to the same effect, as we are like to be here by the means aforesaid. Mr. Rowley hath moved no such matter here as was reported. How far I have proceeded in saving the rights of the Church (as much as the violence of the present storm would permit) I have declared in my letters to the Archbishop of Dublin and the rest of the heads of the Convocation. Somewhat more I have prevailed since in the matter of those customs which they term barbarous, which I will signify unto them upon the next occasion of writing. I have not much ado to work with his Majesty for the necessary relief of the Scottish ministers which are here: and it would be very unreasonable that the ministers of that nation which are there, should come over at this time and put him to a further charge which (God knows) he is little able to bear as things now stand with him, I should therefore wish that both they and Mr. Mathews also should continue where they are, and I will move his Majesty to take order with the 11 Justices and our new Lord Lieutenant (the Earl of Leicester) that provision may be made for them there. Thus with the remembrance of my heartiest respects unto your good wife (whom I have always found to be as you have represented her unto me), I commend you both unto the blessing of Almighty God, and ever rest

"Your faithful friend,
And loving brother,
"JA. ARMACHANUS."

Poyning's Act, telling them that he was loath to give into new courses, and wishing them to acquaint him with what they had to say against you, that he might do them right therein as he found cause. All attendance upon the King's Council for the despatching of the same and upon the committee of the House of Lords, together with the incessant interpellation of others, doth so distract me, that I do not know where to turn myself at this present, whereof your son is in part a witness, who can tell you what shift I make to scribble those few lines to you. And so with remembrance of my hearty commendations to your good wife, and my most hearty prayers for a happy ending to your great trouble, I recommend you to God's blessing, and ever rest your assured loving brother,

"Ready to do you all service,

"JAMES ARMACHANUS.

"The petition you sent me against episcopacy will be to no purpose. If we can save it here (for which I can tell you we are put to our utmost), there will be no need to fear any thing that moveth from thence. His Majesty told me he made a conscience to take any part of my Lord Strafford's estate unto himself, but intended to dispose it wholly to the benefit of his wife and children."

The Primate soon became a great sufferer from the calamities of the times. The rebellion broke out in Ireland, and amidst its disastrous consequences destroyed almost all the property of the Primate. Dr. Parr says: "In a very few days the rebels plundered his houses in the country, seized on his rents, quite ruined or destroyed his tenements, killed or drove away his numerous flocks and herds of cattle to a very great value, and in a word, had not left him any thing in that kingdom which escaped their prey, but his library and some furniture in his house in Drogheda, which were secured by the strength of that place, notwithstanding a long and dangerous siege by the rebels; which library was some years after conveyed over to Chester, and from thence to London: This must needs reduce him to a very low condition, happening not long after Michaelmas, when

he expected a return of his rents, so that he was forced for his present supply to sell or pawn all the plate and jewels he had; this, though a very great tryal, yet made not any change in his natural temper and heavenly disposition, still submitting to God's providence with Christian patience and magnanimity, having long before learned to use the things of this world, as if he used them not; and in whatsoever condition he was, therewith to be content." In the January following he obtained a temporary provision, by a grant from the king, of the see of Carlisle[e] *in commendam*, vacant by the death of Dr. Potter. The provision, however, was not of any great value, as the revenues of the see were impaired by the encampments of the English and Scottish armies on the borders, and was but of short duration, as the Parliament soon seized upon all the episcopal lands.

Dr. Bernard states that the Primate received from the University of Leyden an offer of the place of Honorary Professor, with a salary larger than had usually been attached to it, and also one from the Cardinal Richelieu to

[e] "Letters wrote to Dr. Nat. Ellison by Mr. John Nicholson from Rose Castle in Cumberland, Oct. 9, 1703, about Archbishop Usher being Bishop of Carlisle.

"I have now looked into our Register and Court rolls and find that a court was kept at Linstock in Bishop Potters name 13 May 1641 (in which year he dyed) and 16 Feb. 7 Car. I. 1641 a grant to Archbishop Usher of the Bishoprick of Carlisle to be held in commendam with Armagh &c. The letters patent registered here 13 June 1642, the said Archbishop, as Bishop of Carlisle, granted a commission (under his archiepiscopal seal) unto Mr. Isaac Singleton Archdeacon and Chancellor, Dr. Lanc. Dawes, Mr. Rich. Smith, Mr. Lewis West, and Mr. Frederick Tunstall, prebendaries then of Carlisle, Will. Richardson B. D., John Hasty, Lanc. Lowther, Will. Fairfax, Chr. Peale, Charles Usher and Simo Tullie Cl. A. M. for giving institutions in his absence and to visit &c. Severall institutions were accordingly dispatched in the Archbishop's name, the last of which (as here registered) is dated 3 Nov. 1643. He disposed of one of the Prebends of Carlisle to one Mr. Hen. Hutton, the 16 Septr. 1643. There were severall courts held in his Grace's name and tenants admitted &c. but I do not find or have ever heard, that he was here in person. He seems to have had the revenue of this Bishoprick for about two years, which was collected and managed for him by one Captain or Mr. Sharpe."—*Bliss. Ed. of Wood's Athen.*, vol. iv. pag. 799.

settle in France, where he should enjoy a pension and freedom of religion. However, there is some doubt as to either of these offers having been made, for Dr. Parr states he never heard the Primate mention them. Dr. Smith accounts for the anecdote of Cardinal Richelieu from the fact, that, on the publication of the work De Primordiis Ecclesiarum Britanniarum, the Cardinal sent the Primate a gold medal of considerable value, bearing his likeness, accompanied with a complimentary letter. The Primate, in return, sent the Cardinal a present of two Irish greyhounds, probably the celebrated wolf-dogs. D'Alembert has mentioned this present from the Primate, and considers it as a witty reprimand; but this could never have entered the Primate's mind, and would have been a bad return for so marked a civility[f]. A very slight notice of an invitation to the Primate from the Regent Queen of France, Anne of Austria, appears in a letter of his to Dr. Arnold Brate, dated November, 1651. The whole is contained in these words, "I have[g] made known to the Queen of France that there can be no possible expectation of my . . . . . removing to those quarters."

A solemn fast having been ordered for the 22nd of December, 1641, the Primate preached before the House of Lords. Soon after a bookseller in London published the sermon from notes that he had taken, under the title of Vox Hiberniæ. The Primate petitioned the House of Lords to suppress the work:

"To the R[t] Honourable the House of Peeres now assembled in Parliament, the humble petition of James, Archbishop of Armagh.

[f] "Le Cardinal de Richelieu sensible à toutes les espèces de gloire, ou, si l'on veut, de vanité, avoit aussi voulu pour se faire panegyristes dans toute l'Europe, donner des pensions à quelques savans étrangers. Il en offrit une au savant Usserius, archevêque d'Armagh en Irlande, et très peu riche, tout archevêque qu'il etoit, car l'opulence, disoit il, est reservée aux prelats catholiques. Usserius au lieu d'accepter la *gracieuse* proposition du Cardinal, lui envoya des lévriers, espèce des chiens qui est excellente in Irlande; cette fière et plaisante réponse dégoûta le ministre de faire à d'autres de pareilles offres, et de s'exposer à un pareil remercîment."—*Œuvres d'Alembert*, tom. ix. p. 224.

[g] Letter 294, Works, vol. xvi. pag. 203.

"Humbly Sheweth,

"That whereas your Lordships were pleased to employ your Petitioner in preaching before you on the Fast Day, the 22 of December last (which service, according to his meane abilitie, he was carefull to perform:) so it is that one John Nicholson having got into his hands a collection of some rude and incoherent notes of that sermon, tooke the boldness to publish the same (under the title of Vox Hiberniæ) as a true relation of that which was uttered before your Lordships that day. Which, being in many places void of common sense, and in the whole every way unanswerable to what was fit to be delivered before so Honourable and judicious an audience.

"His humble request is, that your Lordships would be pleased to call in that supposititious pamphlet, &c. &c."

Die Veneris, 11 *Feb.* 1641.

"Ordered by the Lords in Parliament, that a Booke concerning the L. Archbishop of Armagh, being published and printed by John Nicholson, shall be called in and suppressed.

"Jo. Browne,
"Cleric. Parliam."

"*To the Wardens and company of the Stationers of London.*

In this year a collection of Tracts in defence of Episcopacy was published at Oxford, which were selected from the writings of distinguished English divines, Hooker, Andrews, and Meerwood. In this collection[h] appeared two

[h] Milton published a reply to the tracts in this collection, with the title, "Of prelatical episcopacy, and whether it may be deduced from the apostolical times by virtue of those testimonies which are alledged to that purpose in some late treatises; one whereof goes under the name of James Archbishop of Armagh." Dr. Johnson remarks upon this: "I have transcribed this title to shew by his contemptuous mention of Usher, that he had now adopted the puritanical savageness of manners." This answer was soon followed by "The Reason of Church Government urged against Prelacy," which was particularly directed against Bishop Andrews and Primate Ussher, and is written in the scurrilous and irreverent strain which distinguishes all the writings of Milton against episcopacy. He discovers in it that "Lucifer was the first prelate angel;" and, though writ-

tracts of Archbishop Ussher, one "the Original of Bishops and Metropolitans briefly laid down;" the other "A geographical and historical Disquisition touching the Asia properly so called." The first of these the Primate wrote at the request of Bishop Hall[1]; and in it he demonstrates, from the writings of the Fathers of the second and third century, that the succession of Bishops can be deduced from the days of the apostles; that by "the angels of the seven churches" are to be understood "seven singular bishops who were the constant presidents over these

ing by name against two such distinguished individuals, he ventures to say, "it were a great folly to seek for counsel in a hard intricate scruple from a dunce prelate, when there might be found a speedier solution from a grave and learned minister." In Milton's eyes, all the learning and virtues of Andrews and Ussher were annihilated by their acceptance of the episcopal office. Johnson was not too severe when he said, "Such is the controversial merriment of Milton; his gloomy seriousness is yet more offensive. Such is his malignity *that hell grows darker at his frown.*"

[1] The request was conveyed in the following letter:

"To the Most Reverend Father in God, and my Most Honoured Lord, the Lord Arch Bishop of Armagh, and Primate of Ireland.

"Most Reverend, and my most worthily Honoured Lord.

"That which fell from me yesterday suddenly and transcursively, hath since taken up my after-midnight thoughts, and I must crave leave, what I then moved, to importune, that your Grace would be pleased to bestow one sheet of paper upon these distracted times, in the subject of Episcopacie, shewing the Apostolical original of it, and the grounds of it from Scripture, and the immediately succeeding antiquity; Every line of it coming from your Grace's hand would be 'super rotas suas:' as Solomons expression is, very Apples of Gold, with Pictures of Silver, and more worth than volumes from us: Think, that I stand before you like the Man of Macedon, and that you heare me say, Come and help us: And as your Grace is wholly given up to the common good of the Church, say, whether you can deny it? and if it please your Grace to take your rise from my humble motion to expresse your self in this question, wherein I am publikely interested, or otherwise, to professe your voluntary resolutions for the setling of many, either misled, or doubting soules, it will be the most acceptable, and (I hope) the most successefull work, that your Grace hath ever undertaken; It was my earnest motion long ago to (μεγας τις) to intreat this labour from your Grace, which now comes from my meannesse; your gratious humility will not even from so low hands disregard it; with my zealous suit, and hopefull expectation of a yielding answer, I humbly take leave, and am

"Your Graces humbly, and heartily devoted

"Jos. Exon."

churches;" and that these seven cities were metropolitical, to which several neighbouring towns were subject,—an arrangement which took place in other parts of the Roman empire, in conformity with the civil divisions, so that there can be no doubt of the existence of an archiepiscopal government, according to the ancient canons of the Church.

In his disquisition touching Asia, he clearly pointed out the distinction between Asia Minor and the Lydian Asia, so often mentioned in the New Testament, which, by ecclesiastical and other writers, was frequently called Proconsular Asia and the Asian diocese. The provinces of Asia Minor were distinguished by Cicero[k] into four, Phrygia, Mysia, Caria, and Lydia, by which division he must have comprehended Æolia and Ionia under Mysia and Lydia. The Primate then proceeds to prove, that the Asia mentioned in the New Testament, and more particularly the seven Churches, are contained within the limits of Lydia, and that each of these seven cities was a metropolis, and that they were made choice of to be the seats of the principal Churches, in consequence of the civil division of the country.

In the next chapter he points out the changes which occurred in the distribution of the provinces, from the time of Augustus to that of Constantine. In the time of Augustus the Proconsular Asia extended as far as the division pointed out by Cicero; but in the reign of Constantine it was confined within the bounds of the Lydian Asia, and a distinction was made between the Proconsular Asia and the Asian diocese, the one being put under the command of the Proconsul of Asia, and the other under the government of the Vicarius of Asia or the Asian diocese. Nor did the variations cease with the reign of Constantine; many changes were made in the reigns of succeeding Emperors.

It appears that, when under the first Emperors there were several metropolitical cities in the same province, great disputes arose between the different cities of Proconsular Asia respecting precedency. Constantine, in order to

[k] Orat. pro Flacco.

stop these disputes, ordered, that in every province there should be but one chief city held for the metropolis, and that Ephesus should hold that rank in Proconsular Asia, as it was the ordinary place for the meeting of the Common Council, and was considered the common treasury of Asia. It is true, indeed, that this constitution was not strictly adhered to, for many of the succeeding Emperors, to gratify the ambition of Bishops contending for the honor of their respective cities, allowed two metropolitans in one province. Ephesus had been considered, in the civil arrangement, as so preeminently the first city of the Proconsular Asia, that its Proconsul was exempted from the jurisdiction of the Præfectus Prætorio Orientis; and, conformably to this, in the ecclesiastical arrangement, the Bishop of Ephesus was not only held to be the Metropolitan of Proconsular Asia, but also the Primate of all the provinces that were contained within the compass of the whole Asian diocese.

The Primate also established the fact, that there was a great harmony between the civil and ecclesiastical government, and that the bishops of every province were subject to the metropolitan bishop, who held the same place as our archbishop, as the magistrates that ruled in the subordinate cities were subject to the chief governor of the province.

At the commencement of the year 1642 the King withdrew from London, and finally repaired to York. The Primate, feeling that his presence was no longer of any use, obtained leave from both Houses of Parliament to retire to Oxford, for the purpose of prosecuting his literary pursuits. On his arrival at Oxford he was accommodated by the learned Dr. Prideaux, Bishop of Worcester, with his house near Exeter College, and continued with great industry to avail himself of the treasures contained in the Bodleian library. The Primate, however, did not confine himself to his studies in the library; he became a constant preacher, and in the forenoon of almost every Sunday preached either at St. Olave's Church or at All Hallows, where a very large congregation attended to hear him. Dr. Parr states, that

"notwithstanding the learnedness of most of his hearers, he rather chose a plain substantial mode of preaching for the promoting of piety and virtue, than studied eloquence or a vain ostentation of learning; so that he quite put out of countenance that windy, affected sort of oratory, which was then much in use, called florid preaching or strong lines." He also particularly mentions the effect which he remembers to have followed a sermon preached by the Primate in the chapel of Exeter College, on the first verse of the eighteenth chapter of Proverbs: "Through desire a man having separated himself seeketh and intermeddleth with all wisdom." He says: "In which sermon he so lively and pathetically set forth the excellency of true wisdom as well human as divine, and that desire which every ingenious and vertuous soul ought to have for it, that it wrought so effectually upon the hearts of many of the younger students, that it rendered them more serious, and made them ply their studies much harder than before."

At the close of the year the King went to Oxford, after the battle of Edge-Hill, and the Primate was called upon to preach before him on the first Sunday after his return, a duty which he performed frequently during the King's residence. On one occasion, when the Primate was about to administer the Holy Communion to His Majesty in the chapel of Christ Church, the King, making a sign to him for a short pause, rose from his knees, and thus addressed him in a loud voice:

"My Lord, I espy here many resolved Protestants, who may declare to the world the resolution I do now make. I have to the utmost of my power prepared my soul to become a worthy receiver: and may I so receive comfortably the blessed Sacrament, as I do intend the establishment of the true Protestant religion, as it stood in its beauty in the happy days of Queen Elizabeth, without any connivance of Popery. I bless God, that in the midst of the public distractions I have still liberty to communicate; and may this Sacrament be my damnation, if my heart do not join with my lips in this protestation."

This declaration, made with such solemnity, in the pre-

sence of many of the nobles and a large congregation, was soon after printed and distributed widely, but with little effect, so inveterate was the hostility to the monarch.

On the first of July, 1643, the assembly of Divines met in Henry the Seventh's chapel, and to this meeting the Primate was summoned, but refused to attend[1]. This assembly was convened by the authority of the two Houses of Parliament, the King having refused his consent to the bill, and was ordered to propose measures for reforming the Liturgy and discipline of the Church. The ordinance under which the assembly met differed in two very remarkable particulars from the bill which passed the Houses of Parliament, but did not receive the King's consent. The

[1] Archbishop Ussher had attended the committee appointed by the House of Lords, in March, 164$\frac{0}{1}$, for settling of peace in the Church. This Committee, with Bishop Williams as chairman, had been summoned immediately after the imprisonment of Archbishop Laud, who inserted the following note in his diary: "A committee for religion settled in the Upper House of Parliament. Ten Earls, ten Bishops, ten Barons. So the lay votes will be double to the clergy. This committee will meddle with doctrine as well as ceremonies, and will call some Divines to them to consider of the businesse, as appears by a letter hereto annexed sent by the Lord Bishop of Lincoln to some Divines to attend this service: upon the whole matter I believe this committee will prove the Nationall synod of England to the great dishonour of the Church. And what else may follow upon it, God knows." The Committee continued to sit little more than a month, when the introduction of the bill for the suppression of Deans and Chapters put an end to its proceedings. It is more than probable that its continuance would not have been of advantage to the Church, and that dangerous concessions would have been made to the Puritan party. It must be acknowledged, however, that the absurd practices of those who called themselves the High Church party, insisting upon unimportant, perhaps dangerous, ceremonies, as matters of vital importance, gave great strength to their opponents. If we read Fuller's account of the innovations in discipline which were to be corrected, we might imagine we were reading the events of later times. "Advancing candlesticks in parochial churches in the day time on the Altar so called. Making canopyes over with traverses of curtains, in imitation of the vaile before the Holy of Holyes, on each side and before it. Having a Credentia or side table (as a chappell of ease to the mother altar) for divers uses in the Lords Supper. Forbidding a direct prayer before sermon &c. pretending for some of these innovations the injunctions and advertisements of Queen Elizabeth which are not in force, and appertayning to the printed Liturgy secundo et tertio Edvardi sexti, which is reformed by Parliament."—*Fuller's Church History*, book xi. pag. 175.

assembly was restrained from the exercise of ecclesiastical jurisdiction, and consisted not only of divines but also of lay assessors. So jealous were the two Houses of what they considered their privileges, that they prohibited the assembly from debating upon any point, which had not been submitted by them for their deliberation. They would not leave to the clergy the power of electing the members, but named one hundred and twenty persons from the different counties, without any regard to parishes or dioceses. Two only of the episcopal order were selected along with the Primate, the Bishop of Exeter (Brownrigg), and the Bishop of Bristol (Westfield). The Primate not only declined attending the meetings of the assembly of Divines, but preached against its authority, and denounced[m] in strong

[m] Dr. Aikin cannot perceive any reason for this conduct of the Primate, but his being flattered by the attention of the King to him at Oxford. If Dr. Aikin did not consider it of any consequence, that the King had protested against the interference with his authority in the calling of such an assembly, or that the rights of the Church were invaded by suppressing its synods, he might at least have found sufficient ground to justify the Primate in the materials of which the body was composed. He might have taken the authority of Milton, no admirer of episcopacy, for their characters: "The most of them were such as had preached and cried down with great show of zeal the avarice and pluralities of Bishops and Prelates, and that one cure of souls was a full employment for one spiritual pastor, how able soever, if not a charge rather above human strength. Yet these conscientious men (ere any part of the work done, for which they came together and that on the public salary) wanted not boldness to the ignominy and scandal of their pastor-like profession, and especially of their boasted reformation, to seize into their hands or not unwillingly to accept, (besides one, sometimes two or more of the best livings) collegiate masterships in the Universities, rich lectures in the city, setting sails to all winds that might blow gain into their covetous bosoms. By which means these great rebukers of non residence, among so many distant cures, were not ashamed to be seen so quickly pluralists and non residents themselves, to a fearful condemnation doubtless by their own mouths.

"And well did these disciples manifest themselves to be no better principled than their teachers, trusted with committeeships and other gainful offices, upon their commendations for zealous (and as they sticked not to call them) godly men; but executing their places like children of the Devil, unfaithfully, unjustly, unmercifully, and where not corruptly, stupidly. So that between them the teachers and these the disciples there hath not been a more ignominious and mortal wound to faith, to piety, to the work of reformation, nor more cause of blasphemy to the enemies of

terms its illegality and schismatical tendencies. This conduct could not escape the watchful attention of the Parliament. A complaint was made by the Committee to the House of Commons, who immediately removed his name, and proceeded to inflict the severest punishment they could upon him, by confiscating his noble library[n], then deposited at Chelsea College. Dr. Featley[o], who was one of the few episcopal divines that attended the meetings, with the assistance of Selden[p], who was one of the lay members,

God's truth, since the first preaching of the Reformation."—*Milton's Hist. of England*, Works, vol. iv. pag. 85.

[n] The Primate's library had been protected from destruction in Ireland by its being deposited at Drogheda. Dr. Bernard says: "When we were besieged four months by those Irish Rebells and when they made no question of devouring us: the Priests and Friers without talked much of the prize they should have in the library which I had the custody of, but the barbarous multitude of burning it and me by the flame of the books, instead of faggots under me; but it pleased God in answer of our prayers and fasting wonderfully to deliver us, and it out of their hands; and so the whole with all his manuscripts, were sent him that summer to Chester, and are still preserved here; I do believe his prayers were very prevalent for us."—*Bernard's Life of Ussher*, pag. 94.

[o] Dr. Featley had been chaplain to Archbishop Abbot, and was a man of very considerable learning. Clarendon says, "that the Assembly had raised great advantage to themselves upon his reputation in learning." He was the last divine who ventured to advocate episcopacy in the Assembly. This fact he endeavoured to turn to his own advantage, and wrote to Archbishop Ussher an account of what he had done, with a request that he would "procure a good opinion from the King towards him, and some Bishopric or Deanery for his recompence." The letters, sent by a person who had insinuated himself into his confidence, for the purpose of betraying him, were opened by the Assembly, and the writer was immediately expelled, "his livings sequestered, his study of books and estates seized, and himself committed to a common gaol, where he continued to his death; which befel him sooner through the extreme wants he underwent; so solicitous was that party to remove any impediment that troubled them, and so implacable to any who were weary of their journey, though they had accompanied them very far in their way."—*Clarendon, Hist.*, book vii. vol. iii. pag. 471.

[p] This distinguished scholar had been an early friend of the Primate, and several letters are preserved which passed between them from the year 1622. When the House of Commons were debating the question, whether they should admit Archbishop Ussher into the Assembly of Divines, Selden said: "They had as good inquire whether they had best admit Inigo Jones, the King's architect, to the company of mouse-trap makers."—*App. ad Annal. Wilhelmi Wyrcester. Ed. Hearne*, tom. ii. pag. 595. Sel-

either obtained a grant of the library, or purchased it for a small sum of money, and thus preserved for the Primate the most part of the invaluable collection; part had been embezzled during the seizure, and among the articles taken away were many papers and collections of his own writing, and all the letters either to or from his learned friends, which he had left behind him at his departure from Ireland.

About this time the persecution of the Parliament forced for protection to Oxford one that became afterwards an attached and faithful friend[q] to the Primate, the learned and pious Dr. Henry Hammond. This distinguished sufferer in the royal cause became a constant correspondent on theological subjects with the Primate, and was soon employed by him in defending some of his writings. The Primate had now completed a work upon which he had been long engaged, and published a corrected edition of the Epistles of Ignatius, which had undergone many corruptions and interpolations. The title of the work was, "Polycarpi et Ignatii Epistolæ: una cum vetere interpretatione Latina ex trium Manuscriptorum codicum collatione integritati suæ restituta: Accedit et Ignatiarum epistolarum versio antiqua alia, ex duobus manuscriptis in Anglia repertis nunc primum in lucem edita. Quibus præfixa est non de Ignatii solum et Polycarpi scriptis, sed etiam de Apostolicis constitutionibus Clementi Romano tributis, Jacobi Usserii Archiepiscopi Armachani Dissertatio. 1644." It had been acknowledged by many writers, that the Epistles of Ignatius had been corrupted, but no plan had occurred of sepa-

den appears to have treated the Divines of this Assembly with very little respect. Whitelock, describing the meetings of the Assembly, says: "In these debates Mr. Selden spake admirably and confuted divers of them in their own learning. And sometimes when they had cited a text of Scripture to prove their assertion, he would tell them, 'Perhaps in your little pocket Bibles with gilt leaves,' which they would often pull out and read, 'the translation may be thus, but the Greek or Hebrew signifies thus and thus,' and so would silence them."

[q] Dr. Parr alludes to some reports which were prevalent, that the Primate had given "a scandalous unbeseeming character of Doctor Hammond;" and justly remarks, that the falsehood of the charge is proved by the terms of respect and kindness which appear in the letters now extant. Of the allusion nothing more can be now traced.

rating the interpolations from the genuine readings, when the sagacity of the Primate pointed out a most ingenious method, which he adopted with great success. He discovered that three English writers in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, Windeford, Robert Bishop of Lincoln, and Tissington, had quoted a passage from Ignatius in the same manner that it had been cited by Theodoret, which yet did not appear either in the Greek edition or the common Latin version, and immediately commenced a search for a manuscript of that Latin version, which must have been in England. He found two, one in the library of Caius College, Cambridge, the other in the private library of Montague Bishop of Norwich, which has been since lost. On comparing these manuscripts with the writings of the Fathers who lived within the first five centuries, he found that they agreed throughout, and differed in many places from the received editions. Satisfied that he had now the means of restoring the genuine text, he marked with red letters the interpolations of the Vulgate editions. His conjectures received a singular confirmation from an ancient Greek manuscript at Florence, copied and printed by Vossius, which nearly agreed, as to the rejected passages, with the Latin version printed in England. To his edition the Primate prefixed a learned dissertation, in nineteen chapters, upon the Epistles, and also upon the Apostolic Constitutions. He conceives that the corruptions of both were made at the same time, the sixth century, and by the same hand, for the purpose of supporting Arianism. Salmasius and Blondel expressed their dissent; they were ready to admit that the Archbishop had proved the existence of interpolations, but denied that there was any evidence of the genuine text of Ignatius having been discovered, and ventured even to assert, that all the epistles put forth under the name of Ignatius were written by some impostor. In the Appendix[r] which the Archbishop subsequently pub-

[r] The Appendix contained:

"I. Ignatii Epistolæ genuinæ, a posterioris Interpolatoris assumentis libera, ex Græco Mediceo exemplari expressæ, et nova versione Latina explicatæ.

lished, he took a slight but very pointed notice of the inconsistency of their objections: "Interim satis mirari non potui duos magni nominis viros conjecturis suis tantum tribuisse, ut quum Polycarpi ad Philippenses literas, quibus Ignatianas a se subjectas fuisse ipse confirmat, germanas fuisse fateantur, et has ipsas quæ Ignatio tribuuntur epistolas, ex Mediceo codice a novitiis assumentis demum liberatas, non minus quam Polycarpi ipsam, Eusebii temporibus in omnibus manibus fuisse non negent: in hisce tamen effingendis impostorem aliquem nomen Ignatii ementitum esse confidentissime pronuncient; quanquam de ætate qua planus iste vixerit, inter ipsos omnino non conveniat." Blondel published a letter in his defence, which the Primate referred to Dr. Hammond, with a request that he would give his opinion of several particulars which it contained relating to the Valentinian heresy, episcopal and chorepiscopal power, and some difficulties concerning them arising from the Canons of the eastern Councils. Dr. Hammond executed his task with great ability, and promised a fuller answer if necessary. The Archbishop expressed[s] his thanks, and claimed his promise, which was fulfilled. The Primate again expressed[t] his thanks, and the great satisfaction he felt at the mode in which the task was performed. It had been for several years the anxious wish of the Primate to procure a Syriac version of the Epistles of Ignatius, and he had it placed second on the list of books, which he desired Christopher Ravius, then his agent at Constantinople,

"II. Ignatii martyrium, a Philone, Agathopode et aliis qui passioni illius interfuerant, descriptum, ex duabus antiquis Latinis ejusdem versionibus, nunc primum in lucem editum.

"III. Tiberiani, Plinii secundi et Trajani Imperatoris de constantia martyris Epistolæ.

"IV. Smyrnensis Ecclesiæ de Polycarpi martyris Epistola, cum antiqua Latina ejusdem metaphrasi, integre nunc primum edita.

"V. In Ignatii et Polycarpi Acta atque Epistolas, etiam Ignatio perperam adscripta, Annotationes."

The Prefaces and Dissertation have been printed in the seventh volume of the Primate's works, but it was not possible to add the notes, without printing the works of Ignatius.

[s] See Letter 261, vol. xvi. pag. 135.

[t] Letter 282, vol. xvi. pag. 174.

to search for diligently. "Hos[u] libros omnes sollicite vestiges velim quaque transibis, et si quos reperias, diligenter in adversariis notes locos ubi extant, et nomina eorum in quorum manibus sunt, itidemque pretium quo eos divendere velint, ut et nomina nostratium mercatorum in eisdem locis commorantium, ut sic postea, quando ad nos reversus fueris, accersere eos, si pretium placuerit, possimus." His efforts were, however, fruitless[v], as also the attempt to procure an Arabic, Persic, or Armenian version of the same Epistles.

It had been the Primate's intention to have annexed the epistle of Barnabas to those of Ignatius, but the manuscript was entirely destroyed by a fire in the printing office, and no part of the work was preserved, except a few pages which had been printed off, and contained the Editor's *Præmonitio* concerning the age, author, and purpose of the epistle. This was afterwards inserted, though in an imperfect state, in Bishop Fell's edition of the same epistle, Oxford, 1686, and has again been printed, in the same mutilated condition by Cotelerius, although Dr. Smith had published, from papers which he had fortunately discovered, the few lines which were deficient.

Soon after the publication of Ignatius, a most distinguished compliment was paid to the Primate[w] by the Uni-

[u] Letter 220, Works, vol. xvi. pag. 54. It appears from this letter that the Archbishop made Ravius an allowance of twenty-five pounds a year, in order to engage him in his service.

[v] Dr. Smith states, that forty years afterwards, Dr. Huntington, subsequently Provost of Trinity College, Dublin, and Bishop of Raphoe, sought in vain for the Syriac version through Syria, Palestine, Mesopotamia, and Egypt. The recent discovery of a Syriac version of four Epistles by Mr. Cureton, among the treasures of the British Museum, is well known, and has excited considerable controversy. This is not the place for entering into such a question. I must join with Professor Lee in regretting the subject had not been discussed by an Ussher or a Pearson, though I believe we differ much in our expectations as to what the result would have been.

[w] The Archbishop had been admitted D. D. ad eundem from the University of Dublin in the year 1626. He was then residing at Jesus College, and pursuing his searches in the Bodleian Library.—Fasti Oxon. vol. i. pag. 427.

versity of Oxford. At a convocation held on the 10th of March, 164⅓, it was decreed, that an engraving of the Archbishop of Armagh should be executed at the expense of the University, with a suitable inscription, and prefixed to his edition of Ignatius. Some delay having arisen, the engraving was not prefixed to the edition of the Epistles of Ignatius, but, subsequently, to his treatise De Symbolo. The inscription was as follows:

"Jacobus Usserius, Archiepiscopus Armachanus, totius Hiberniæ Primas, Antiquitatis primævæ peritissimus, orthodoxæ religionis vindex ἀνανπίῤῥητος, errorum malleus, in concionando frequens, facundus, præpotens, vitæ inculpatæ exemplar spectabile.

"Rob. Pink, Vice-Cancell."

When the deputies from the two contending parties in Ireland were summoned to Oxford, Archbishop Ussher was one of eight persons named by the Irish Privy Council. It is not necessary here to detail the various demands made on both sides, or to discuss how far the King committed himself by his final answer to the deputies from the Roman Catholics. These are subjects of general history. But Sir Charles Coote, one of the Protestant deputies, has charged the Primate with improper submission to the wishes of the King, and the following attestation is given by Prynne, in his history of the trial of Archbishop Laud:

"I Sir Charles Coote do hereby testifie, that being at Oxford the last summer as one of the agents for the Protestants of Ireland, and finding the Irish popish agents to be very prevalent there, and the Archbishop of Armagh to be often present at the debates concerning the businesse of Irelande, and conceiving him to have some power with his Majesty, I addressed myself to the said Archbishop, and besought him that he would interpose his power with his Majesty in the behalfe of the Protestants; for if the Irish agents obtained their desires, the Protestants in Ireland were destroyed, and Popery would be introduced: to which

the Archbishop replyed; that was the intention which he knew better than I did, and said, we must submit."[x]

"CHARLES COOTE.

"Dated this 14 of Aprill, 1645."

Dr. Aikin observes, that "the authenticity of this document cannot be doubted." I am quite sure that such an attestation was made by Sir Charles Coote, but the important question is of a different nature, whether the statement he made was true, and there is very satisfactory evidence that it was not: even if we reject the Primate's own testimony[y] before the Commissioners at White Hall. On the fifth of November[z] immediately succeeding the conference

[x] Prynne, in his usual style, says: "A very strange speech of a saint-seeming Protestant Arch Prelate," and "the very best and learnedest in all the whole pack of Prelates, even the Primate of Armagh, Bishop Usher (of whom most men have hitherto had a very honorable opinion, though a great servant and instrument of Canterburies in Ireland, as appears by sundry originall letters to him under his hand) hath extreamely degenerated in his Christian zeale for the Protestant religion, even in his own bleeding country since he turned Royalist and Cavalier;" and he concludes with the following charitable prayer: "The God of Heaven for ever deliver us from such an hypocriticall false archiepiscopal generation of vipers, whose heads and hopes of succession in both kingdoms we trust your Honours have for ever cut off in the decapitation of this Archbishop of Canterbury, the very worst of all his trayterous predecessors." —*Canterbury's Doom, Epist. Dedicat.* pag. 14.

[y] See pag. 248.

[z] A strange story is told by Wood about another sermon on the 5th of November: "A copy of two little tracts written by Ralph Buckland, which contain ejaculations very full of most fervent devotions for the reconcilement of England and Scotland to the Roman Church coming afterwards into the hands of the most learned Dr. Usher, Primate of Ireland, he took occasion in a sermon preached in St. Mary's, Oxon. 5 Nov. 1640, to tell the learned auditory then present, that the said two books having been printed at Rome in 1603 or thereabouts, the Gunpowder treason which was discovered two years after in England, was then there known, and prayers sent up to God Almighty for a prosperous success thereof from certain passages ('drawn,' as 'tis said in the title, 'out of the Holy Scriptures') which he then publicly read before them, some if not all of which are these: Ps. ii. p. 25, 'Confirm their hearts in hope, for the redemption is not far off. The year of visitation draweth to an end, and jubilation is at hand.'—Ps. ii. p. 32, 'But the memory of novelties shall perish with a crack: as a ruinous house falling to the ground.' Ibid. p. 33, 'He will come as a flame that burneth out beyond the fur-

of the deputies at Oxford, the Primate preached before the King, and gave great offence to several of the audience, by his severe remarks upon the Roman Catholics. His text was, "And[a] our adversaries said, they shall not know, neither see, till we come in the midst amongst them, and slay them and cause their works to cease;" and the particular passage which gave offence was desiring them not to repose any trust in the Papists, "for that upon the first opportunity they will serve us here, as they did the poor Protestants in Ireland."

Dr. Parr mentions the subjects of two other sermons preached by the Archbishop before the King, in order to prove that he never flattered either of the contending parties. The first was preached on a fast-day, and the text was: "If[b] my people which are called by my name shall humble themselves and pray and seek my face, and turn from their wicked ways: then will I hear from Heaven, and will forgive their sin and will heal their land." The venerable preacher[c] dwelt with great force upon the folly of expecting that God would bless the arms of those who provoked him

nace,' &c. 'His fury shall fly forth as thunder.'—Ps. iv. p. 54, 'The crack was heard into all lands, and made nations quake for fear.'—Ibid. p. 66, 'In a moment canst thou crush her bones,' &c. All which passages, delivered from the pulpit by that learned and godly Archbishop being then generally believed, I must make bold to tell the reader, being an eager pursuer of truth, that by the several copies of the said books which I have seen, it doth not appear at all, that they were printed at Rome, or where else: and if it may really be guessed by the make or mould of the letter, wherewith they were printed, I should rather take (as one or more Doctors of this University do the like) to have been printed either at Rheims or Doway, or not unlikely at Antwerp; for at Rome there were seldom before that time, then or since such fine or clear letters used, as by multitudes of books which I have seen, that were printed at that place appears, nor indeed ever were, or are any English books printed there."—*Wood's Athenæ. Ed. Bliss.* vol. ii. p. 105. The history of this sermon may be trne, but I cannot reconcile the dates. I believe the Primate was in London in November, 1640; he certainly was there in June; see pag. 207. That must have been after his retnrn from Oxford, and if so, he did not leave London till the beginning of the year 1642.

[a] Nehem. chap. iv. ver. 11. [b] 2 Chron. chap. vii. ver. 14.

[c] The Primate appears to have been actively engaged, during his stay at Oxford, in the service of the King. The unfortunate dispute between

to anger by their dissolute lives and utter disregard of his commands. In the course of the sermon he used the fol-

the Monarch and the Parliament had harassed the mind of many a good and upright citizen, and left them unable to decide what was their duty on this perplexing question. To Archbishop Ussher these doubts were frequently communicated, and his advice sought as a guide through the difficulties of their situation. Dr. Parr was not able to discover any of these queries, but he has preserved several of the Primate's answers, from which we can fairly deduce the nature of the questions.

"To the first.

"No man is bound to leave his vocation and turn souldier, unless summoned and commanded by his Majesty, or those who have commission from him for the gathering of the people to war. Moses (and so successively the chief governor) had the power of the trumpet for that purpose (Num. x. 29) and accordingly the duty and oath of allegiance binds every subject to come in to the defence of his sovereign against what power soever. The danger of poverty and ruine of estate must give way to publick respects: nor must it be provided against but in a just way; in the prosecution of which life and goods and every thing else must be committed to the providence of God.

"To the second.

"For the discerning of the justness of the cause, we must not look only at the ends pretended (which though never so fair and specious do not justifie a bad cause or unlawful means) nor at the wickedness or evil carriage of instruments imployed in the prosecution; which doth not conclude the cause to be bad and unjust: but we must look at the means used for such ends and then consider the ends, whether intended by those who do pretend them. By these we shall see the cause of the adverse party to the King is unjust.

"For first, the means they use is war maintained against their Sovereign; the end pretended is the defence of religion, laws, liberties: but war made by subjects, though really intending such an end, is unjust.

"I. It has no warrant of Scripture, but is disallowed Prov. xxx. 31. 'No rising up against a King.' 1 Sam. viii. 18. No remedy left them against the oppression of the King but crying to the Lord. The Prophets also, which bitterly reproved the idolatrous and unjust kings of Israel and Judah, never called upon the elders of the people by arms to secure the worship of God or the just government of the kingdom. In the xiii. to the Romans and the 1 Ep. ii. cap. of Peter the same doctrine of passive obedience is taught and accordingly was the doctrine and practice of the primitive Christians

"II. Arms taken up by subjects do invade the powers and rights of the Sovereign; for it takes from him the sword, which he is said to bear, Rom. xiii. 4, and so doth every supreme magistrate: the supreme power being signified by bearing the sword, as the best interpreters do affirm: and as our laws and the oath of supremacy doth acknowledge our King the onely supreme governor, and to be vested with the power of arms. Now what saith the Scripture? 'He that takes the sword shall perish

lowing remarkable words: "The casting of our eyes upon other men's sins more than upon our own, makes us to es-

by the sword;" that is, he that takes and uses it without warrant, without and against his consent that bears the sword, that is supreme.

"Also war undertaken by subjects invades the rights of the Sovereign, his revenue, customs &c., will not give to Cæsar what is Cæsar's. But the Scripture is very express in preserving rights and power entire, even to the worst princes; 'Give unto Cæsar that which is Cæsar's,' said our Saviour when Cæsar was bad enough: and St. Paul bids us 'Render them their due tribute, custom, honour,' when the Emperours were at the worst: and our laws determine insurrection or levying of war to be treason, not against a religious and just prince only, but indefinitely against any.

"Secondly their pretences are taken away if we consider, that the continuance of the established religion and government, together with a just reformation of all abuses and grievances has been offered, promised, protested for by his Majesty: but the religion and government of Church and State, as by law established, will not content the adverse party, however they pretend to fight for religion and laws: I mean those of the party, which are the main contrivers of the enterprize, and those also, upon whose number the main strength of the faction rests, being of such sects for the most part, as are by the law to abjure the land, because not to be held within the bounds of any settled government. There are (no question) many which follow them, and do really intend the advancement of religion, going after them, as many did after Absalom, in the simplicity of their hearts, expecting a speedier course of justice and redress of grievances, which they suffered by some evil officers under David, 2 Sam. xv. 4. 11. But for the other to whom we owe this war, and who will rule and dispose all, if they do prevail; their end intended and driven at is the abolishing of the publick Service and Liturgy, which is established by law, the utter taking away of episcopal government, which has always been: and for their greater security they will have the power, which by law is his Majesty's: and because these are not granted, arms are taken up by subjects to the invading of his Majesty's rights and power; and for the maintaining of them the right and liberty of subjects are destroyed.

"To the third.

"Hence will appear what is to be answered to the third Query, that there is precept and example for passive obedience, but none for taking arms to divert apparent innovation. The example commonly abused to this purpose is that of the Israelites preparing to go out to war against their brethren, the Reubenites and Gadites, for raising an altar. Jos. xxii. 13. But it is altogether impertinent for those arms are taken up and that war prepared by those that had the supreme power.

"To the Fourth,

"The right being discovered, it would tend much to the ending of this war and the restoring of our peace, if the King's subjects would rise as one man to maintain the right: Every particular man is bound to do it

teem the things we suffer, to be the injuries of men and not the punishments of God: When the outward senses fail, we

upon the summons of his Sovereign, commanding his assistance. The danger and loss of estate in discharge of duty is but an outward consideration, and to be left to the providence of God, as was said in the first resolution.

"To the other part of this fourth query, Answer. That necessary maintenance is due to him that lawfully bears arms, 'For who goeth a warfare any time (as the Apostle saith) at his own charges.' And if the army cannot be maintained but by free quarter, it is lawful to receive maintenance that way, though at the cost of others, when private interest will give way to the publick. Indeed the abuse of free quarter may make a soldier guilty of the sins here mentioned, but then it is by his own wilful transgression.

"To the Fifth,

"He must in the prosecution of his military duty so behave himself, as to observe John Baptist's rule, 'Do violence to no man,' that is, unjust violence; for he forbids not to use force against them of the adverse party who are in arms ready to offer force. For sparing friends and kindred he must be guided by Christian forbearance so to do it, as thereby not to endanger any present design, or at large to hinder the public service. As for the King's person it cannot be everywhere, so that he must not limit his duty and service to the immediate defence of it; but to know that to serve any where in the defence of his Majesty's just cause is to defend him.

"To the Sixth.

"It is lawful to fight in the company of notoriously wicked men, and of a different faith, looking at the cause, whatever inordinate ends they have: the primitive Christians fought in the company of heathens and idolaters under their heathen Emperors, and did by prayer obtain relief for the whole army, when it was in distress; which did also show, that God approved that their service, it being the duty they owed to their lawful Emperors. From the performance of which duty to a Sovereign the many evil examples and occasions of sin, which a military life abounds with, cannot excuse that subject, that is justly commanded to it: but the conscionable soldier must commend himself to the grace and protection of the Almighty, who is able to keep him from the dangers as of the body, so of the soul too: Remember the examples of the good and faithful centurion that came to our Saviour Luke vii. and of the godly centurion Cornelius who is approved of God, Acts, x.

"To the Seventh.

"For obeying extrajudicial precepts of his Majesty: if they be such as command a man to be active in doing that which is unjust, by the known laws of the land, he yields truest obedience that denies to fulfil such a command: only this must not generally be pronounced as a rule in time of war, where necessity will be in many things a stronger law, than that which is fixed for a peaceable government. But if they be such commands as make me only passive, by requiring some of my estate upon a loan or

take it to be a sign of approaching death; and so when we are given over to have eyes and see not, ears and hear not, it is an argument of decaying souls: For as no prayers or fastings in the world can sanctifie a rebellion nor tempt God to own an unjust party, so neither will a good cause alone justifie us, any more than a true religion without practice: we must first do our duties, otherwise neither the one nor the other will do us any good." And, during the negociation for peace at Uxbridge, he preached a second fast sermon before the King, on the text, "The[d] fruit of righteousness is sown in peace of them that make peace:" and spoke with great severity of those who had warred against their Sovereign; he expressed an earnest wish, that those who had taken up arms in rebellion against their Prince, would consider the evils which arose from contention, strife, and wars, and would speedily accept the gracious concessions which were offered to them by His Majesty.

In the spring of the year 1645, the affairs of the King declining, and Oxford being threatened by the Parliament's troops with a siege, the Primate was strongly recommended to quit that city, and, with the King's permission, took advantage of the Prince of Wales going with a large escort to Bristol, and accompanied him there. From thence he proceeded to Cardiff, which town was strongly garrisoned under the command of his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrell. There he was

tax; I may not hastily square with my Sovereign by denyal and standing out: for any man, as he may recede from his right, and that which is his own, so ought he not to contest with his Sovereign upon matters of no very great moment. As for the infringing of the liberties of the subject, such taxes or loans or any other extrajudicial commands of the King must be general extending to all or most subjects, and customary, being often imposed before they can be judged so immediately to infringe the subjects liberty, as to make a subject think he is bound to deny.

"To the Last.

"To yield to Martialists quartered upon him, if they be the King's, he is bound in duty; if of the rebels, he is directed by prudence to yield unto it, when they can by force command it."

Before this time the Primate had written, at the King's command, a treatise on the power of the Prince and the obedience of the subject, which was not printed till after his death.

[d] James, chap. iii. ver. 18.

received by the Governor and his daughter with every token of respect and affection, and continued to reside in peace for nearly a year, pursuing his studies with indefatigable industry, as he had not omitted to bring with him from Oxford several chests of books. He was at this time particularly engaged in the composition of his Chronological Annals, and had made considerable progress in the first part. During his residence the King retired to Ragland Castle, the seat of the Marquess of Worcester, after the fatal battle of Naseby, and thence proceeded to Cardiff, where he took up his abode in the same house with the Primate. The King received the Primate with his accustomed favor, and called upon him to preach[a] before him on the only Sunday during which he remained at Cardiff. He was soon obliged to hurry away, and carry with him the greater part of the garrison and all the military stores, so that Cardiff became no longer a place of safety.

The Primate was greatly perplexed as to a choice of residence, and entertained serious thoughts of embarking for France or Holland, as he was so near the sea: but an invitation from Lady Stradling to her castle of St. Donate's in Glamorganshire, decided him to remain. However, before he and his daughter could avail themselves of the invitation, unexpected difficulties occurred. The inhabitants of the country had risen in great numbers, nominally in defence of the King, but with the fixed determination to exclude every English garrison and every English commander from the country. Trusting, however, to the promise of their guides, that they would lead them through unfrequented and safe paths, the Primate and his daughter ventured to set out on their journey; but they had soon cause to repent of their determination. Ere they had travelled far, they fell in with some stragglers, who dragged them to the main body of the insurgents. There, being dis-

[a] In a volume of Collectanea, preserved in the Bodleian Library, are metrical versions of the 100th and 101st Psalm, by Sir Philip Sydney, and in the margin of the 101st is written, in the Primate's hand: "I delivered a copy of this to the King at Cardiffe Aug. 4. 1645. having preached there unto him the day before."

covered to be English, they were treated with great cruelty, torn from their horses, and stripped of all their baggage. Nor was this all, the ruffians broke open their chests, and in an instant scattered about all the Primate's books and papers. Some officers, who were gentlemen of the country, fortunately came up, and expressed great regret for the outrage that had been committed; they caused the horses to be immediately restored, and as much of the baggage as could be found, but the books and papers were dispersed so that they could not be recovered. The officers then conducted the Primate and his daughter to the neighbouring house of Sir John Aubrey, where they were hospitably received and lodged for the night. Dr. Parr, who was travelling along with the Primate, says: "I must confess that I never saw him so much troubled in my life; and those that were with him before myself said, that he seemed not more sensibly concerned for all his losses in Ireland than for this; saying to his daughter and to those that endeavoured to comfort him: 'I know that it is God's hand and I must endeavour to bear it patiently, though I have too much human frailty not to be extremely concerned, for I am touched in a very tender place, and He has thought fit to take from me at once all that I have been gathering together above these twenty years, and which I intended for the advancement of learning and the good of the Church.' The next day divers of the neighbouring gentry and clergy came to visit him and condole this irreparable loss, promising to do their utmost endeavours that what books or papers were not burnt or torn should be restored; and so very civilly waited on him to St. Donate's. And to let you see that these gentlemen and ministers did not only promise, but were also able to perform it, they so used their power with the people, that publishing in the churches all over those parts, that all that had any such books or papers should bring them to their ministers or landlords, which they accordingly did; so that in the space of two or three months there was brought into him by parcels all his books and papers so fully, that being put altogether, we found not many wanting; those most remarkable that I or others can call to mind, were two

manuscripts concerning the Waldenses, which he much valued, and which he had obtained towards the continuing of his De Ecclesiarum Christianarum successione, and also another manuscript catalogue of the Persian Kings communicated by Elichmannus, and one volume of manuscripts, Variæ Lectiones of the New Testament: and of printed books only Tully's works and some others of less concernment." In a letter to Dr. Hammond, written four years after, the Primate says: "The[f] varieties of readings of the new Testament out of the Cambridge copies, I have sent unto you; but those out of the Oxford ones (wherein yourself had a chief hand) I can by no means find, and do much fear that they were plundered among my other books and papers by the rude Welsh in Glamorganshire."

The Primate's residence at St. Donate's was rendered agreeable, not only by the kind and respectful attention of his hostess, but also by the circumstance that it contained a most valuable library, rich in books and manuscripts of great value, collected by Sir Edward Stradling and his son Sir John, both distinguished antiquarians, and correspondents of the learned Camden. The Primate seized eagerly upon this opportunity of illustrating his Antiquities of the British Churches, and made many valuable additions respecting the early ecclesiastical history of Wales, which were inserted in the edition published after his death. His studies, however, were soon interrupted by a dangerous and painful disorder, terminating in so profuse an hæmorrhage from the nose, that he was thought to be expiring, and the report of his death was generally circulated. It was on this occasion that the circumstances occurred with respect to Lord Strafford, which have been before[g] related. Dr. Parr states that the Primate, praising God and perfectly resigned to his will, employed himself in giving earnest advice to all around him; he said: "It is a dangerous thing to leave all undone till our last sickness. I fear a death bed repentance will avail us little, if we have lived vainly and viciously, and neglected our conversion, till we can see no longer."

[f] Letter 282, Works, vol. xvi. pag. 174. [g] See above, pag. 214.

He then exhorted them to fear God, to love and obey Jesus Christ, and to lead a holy life, assuring them, "then you will find the comfort of it at your death, and your change will be happy." Among the persons who came to see him was a relation of Lady Stradling, who was a member of the House of Commons; to him he said: "Sir you see I am very weak and cannot expect to live many hours; you are returning to the Parliament, I am going to God; my blood and life is almost spent: I charge you to tell them from me, that I know they are in the wrong, and have dealt very injuriously with the King, and I am not mistaken in the matter." Bishop Hacket relates another testimony of the Primate to the injustice of the suspicions entertained against the King; he says: "On[h] July 24 1654 at Hygate in Surrey I had conference about this defamation with that excellent Primate of Armagh, Dr. Ussher; says he, stop their mouths with this that I shall faithfully tell you. Sir William Parsons our Chief Justice, was much trusted with the King's affairs in Ireland; he deceasing, his friends and executors sent his papers to me to look them over: in his cabinet I found a letter written by the King to warn him to look well to the meetings of the Popish Irish, for he had received certain intelligence out of Spain, that they were upon some great design of blood and confusion." His learned friend, John Greaves, Savilian Professor of Astronomy, was so convinced of his death, that he wrote an inscription for his monument. The Primate, however, slowly recovered, but with returning health new anxieties pressed upon him. From the utter ruin of the royal cause, he could no longer remain in safety where he was, obnoxious as he had become to the party now in absolute power, and at length resolved, if possible, to withdraw to the Continent. For this purpose a vessel was procured, and a passport from the Earl of Warwick, Lord Admiral; but, before he sailed, a squadron of ships, under the command of Molton, Vice-Admiral under the Parliament, came near Cardiff. The Primate immediately sent Dr. Parr with his passport, and

[h] Hacket's Life of Archbishop Williams, part ii. pag. 197.

a request that he might be allowed to proceed on his voyage unmolested. The Vice-Admiral returned a rude and threatening answer, declaring his intention of bringing the Primate prisoner to the Parliament.

At this distressing moment a kind invitation was brought to him from the Countess Dowager of Peterborough, requesting him to take up his abode at her house in London. This offer the Primate immediately accepted, but was considerably embarrassed as to the means of procuring money for prosecuting his journey. Some of the neighbouring gentry, suspecting his distress, sent without any concert, or suffering their names to be known, considerable sums to the venerable prelate, and enabled him to discharge the debts contracted by his long illness, and also to commence his journey to London, which he did in the month[1] of June, 1646. The Countess of Peterborough had hoped that, by her interest with some of the influential members of Parliament, she would be able to secure the Primate from all molestation, and had given him an assurance to that effect; but no sooner had he arrived in London, than he found it was necessary he should notify his arrival to the Committee then sitting at Goldsmiths' Hall. The Primate immediately sent Dr. Parr to give them notice that he was in town, and resident at the house of the Countess of Peterborough; but the insolent Commissioners refused to receive this communication, and insisted upon the Archbishop appearing before them in person. His Grace complied, and appeared before the Court of Examiners, who examined him with great strictness, whether he had any permission to leave London for Oxford, and where he had been since he left Oxford. The Commissioners not being able to found any accusations

[1] Wood relates that the Archbishop, passing through Gloucester on his journey to London, having heard of John Biddle, "spake to and used him with all fairness and pity as well as with strength of argument to convince him of his dangerous error, telling him that either he was in a damnable error, or else that the whole Church of Christ, who had in all ages worshipped the Holy Ghost, had been guilty of idolatry: But Biddle, who had little to say, was no whit moved either by the learning, gravity, piety or zeal of that good Archbishop, but continued, as 'tis said, obstinate."—*Bliss. Ed. of Wood*, vol. iii. pag. 594.

against him upon these points, as he was able to produce the permission granted by Parliament for his removal to Oxford, next proceeded to interrogate him about his communications with Sir Charles Coote, and his having been requested to influence the King to grant a toleration of religion in Ireland. The Primate replied, that he had never been applied to by Sir Charles Coote[k], or any other person, on the subject; that as soon as he heard of the Irish agents having arrived at Oxford, he went to the King, and besought His Majesty not to make any concessions to the Irish on the subject of religion without consulting him; that when the point of toleration was discussed at the Council, the King and all the Lords refused to grant it, and that he, for his part, was ever opposed[l] to it, as a thing most dangerous to the Protestant religion. The Committee being satisfied on these points, the Chairman called upon him to take the *negative* oath, which was required from all those, who came to London from any of the King's garrisons. The Primate requested time for consideration, which was granted, and, through the influence of Selden and some other friends, members of the House of Commons, was never called upon for his decision. He soon afterwards retired, with the Countess of Peterborough, to her house at Ryegate, where he constantly preached in the parish church to a large congregation of the neighbouring gentry.

During the Primate's residence in Wales, a book was published under his name by Mr. Downham, entitled: "A Body of Divinity, or the Sum and Substance of the Christian religion." The Archbishop lost no time in writing to the editor, and sent him the following letter, disavowing the work:

[k] Yet it was after this solemn declaration, of which he must have been aware, that Prynne dared to publish the story about the Archbishop which has been related before, pag. 236.

[l] Dr. Aikin says, that Ussher "might probably deny this with a safe conscience, for it appears as if he only submitted to what others had determined." The compliment to the Archbishop that he was *probably* telling truth is only to be equalled by the fairness with which the narrative is given.

"SIR,—You may be pleased to take notice, that the Catechisme you write of is none of mine, but transcribed out of Mr. Cartwright's catechisme and Mr. Crook's and some other English Divines, but drawn together in one method as a kinde of common place book, where other mens judgments and reasons are strongly laid down, though not approved in all places by the collector; besides that the collection (such as it is) being lent abroad to divers in scattered sheets, hath for a great part of it miscarried; the one half of it as I suppose (well nigh) being no way to be recovered, so that so imperfect a thing copied verbatim out of others, and in divers places dissonant from my own judgement, may not by any means be owned by me; But if it shall seem good of any industrious person to cut of what is weak and superfluous therein, and supply the wants thereof, and cast it into a new mould of his own framing, I shall be very well content that he make what use he pleaseth of any the materials therein, and set out the whole in his own name: and this is the resolution of

"Your most assured loving friend,

"JA. ARMACHANUS.

"*May* 13 1645."

When the Primate thus positively declared that the book *was in divers places dissonant from his own judgement*, and that it could not *by any means be owned by him*, it might have been supposed that it would never have been republished with his name, or quoted as his work[m]; yet the fact is far otherwise. Many editions have been published by those who were aware of this letter, and yet affixed the Primate's name; and every advocate of supralapsarian doctrines quotes in his support the opinions of Archbishop Ussher, as put

[m] Dr. Bernard, who could not have been offended by the extreme doctrines contained in the work, says of it, "being so unpolished, defective and full of mistakes he was much displeased at the publishing it in his name." An edition was published in London so lately as the year 1841, and the attention of the editors was drawn to the letter of Archbishop Ussher. They promised to prefix the letter to the work, but they never fulfilled the promise.

forth in his "Body of Divinity." I understand that several persons have expressed their disappointment at my not having published "The Body of Divinity" among the works of the Archbishop. Had the authorship been a matter of doubtful evidence, there might be a plausible ground for such complaint, but there can be none for not publishing among the works of Archbishop Ussher what Archbishop Ussher declared was not his work.

In the commencement of the year 1647 the Benchers of Lincoln's Inn appointed the Archbishop their preacher. There was some difficulty in prevailing upon the Primate to accept the office, and still more in obtaining the consent of the Parliament; but at length the appointment was completed, which he held for nearly eight years, until the increasing infirmities of age, weakness of sight, and loss of teeth, obliged him to resign it about a year and a half before his death. Mr. Hale, afterwards the celebrated Chief Justice, was then a Bencher, and a particular friend of the Archbishop. By his kind interference, the Benchers appropriated to the use of the Primate extensive apartments, to which he was able to remove as much of his library as had escaped the plunder of the Irish rebels and the English Parliament, and which was, in fact, the only property he now possessed. In this year he published the Appendix Ignatiana, of which an account has already been given, and also Diatriba de Romanæ Ecclesiæ Symbolo Apostolico vetere aliisque fidei formulis, tum ab Occidentalibus tum ab Orientalibus, in prima Catechesi et Baptismo proponi solitis. This learned work was dedicated to Gerard John Vossius, who had anticipated him by a treatise on the three Creeds. However this treatise contains much that had not been treated of by Vossius or any other writer, and has brought to light many facts, which had lain concealed in the most obscure and unknown writers. One of the most remarkable positions established by the Primate in this tract is, that the latter clauses of the Nicene Creed, which were generally considered to have been added at the Council of Constantinople on account of the Macedonian heresy, had formed part of the Creed long before the meeting of that

Council, which only made some slight variations in the Creed submitted to its consideration.

There has been considerable doubt expressed, whether the Primate enjoyed any pension from the Parliament after he was deprived of the revenues of Carlisle. Whitelock, in his Memorials, states, that about the year 1646 there was an order from Parliament to pay the Primate £400 per annum, and there certainly appears in the Parliamentary Journals an order, dated July 1649, for its continuance to the next October. Dr. Bernard mentions the pension, but not its amount, and adds, that it was suspended during the last two years of the Parliament, but that, after their dissolving, "the care of him was renewed by his Highness the Lord Protector; by whose order a constant competent allowance was given for him for his subsistence, which contented him and which I received from him to the last with other very considerable summes extraordinary. All that knew him found him very communicative not onely of his studies, but of what he had out of his stipend to persons in want, wherein he needed rather a bridle than a spur." Yet Dr. Parr seems to think the pension was not paid; he says: "I cannot hear that he received it above once or twice at most, for the independent faction getting uppermost soon put an end to the payment." The following document[o] proves that a pension had been granted at an earlier period than has been generally supposed, but had not been paid for four years, as this warrant bears internal evidence of being the first order for payment:

"By vertue of an Ordinance of both Howses of Parliament of the xxj[th] daie of Septemb: 1643. And in pursuance of an Order of the Commons Howse of the fifth of October 1647. these are to will & require you, Out of such Threasure as shall be in your hands to paye vnto James Usher Doctor in Divinitie the Sume of One hundred pownds, in part of his Allowance of Fower hundred, to be paied quar-

[n] Bernard's Life, pag. 103, 104.

[o] This warrant was found in the Rolls' Office in London by W. H. Black, Esq., and kindly communicated to me. He states that no other such document exists among the series of warrants in the time of the Commonwealth, which is extremely scanty and defective.

terly vnto him, (for one quarter of a yeere to be ended the fifth daie of Januarie next ensueing), for his present supporte and subsistance, and incourragement in his Studdies, for the space of one whole yeere: Except He shall be provided with a Compatent good Livinge in the meane tyme; that then, from such tyme as He shall be provided for, this Allowance to Cease. And for soe doing this together with his Acquittance for the Receipte therof, shall be your Warrant, & Discharge; And allso to the Auditor generall to Allowe the same upon your Accompte. Dated at the Committee of Lords & Commons for his Maties Revenue sitting at Westminster the fiue & twentieth day of November. 1647.

" PEMBROKE & MONT.
" W. SAY & SEALE.
" P. WHARTON.
" COR. HOLLAND.
" THO. HOYLE.

" Int^r^

" To our verie Loving freind Thomas Fauconbridg Esq, Receivor generall of the Revenue.

5) Doctor Usher.

" x^mo^ Die Decembr 1647.

" Receiued by me James Usher Dc̄or in Divinity of Thomas Fauconberge Esqr Receiuo^r^ Generall of the Revenew the sōme of fifty pounde in pt of one hundred pounde according to this warrant——— } l.li

" JA. USSHER Armachan.

" Wittnes
" Wm BURLEY.

" Vicesimo quarto die Februar 1647.

" Receiued by me James Usher Dco^r^ in Divinity of Thomas Fauconberge Esqr Receiuo^r^ Genall of the Reuenewe the Sūme of Fiftie pounds in full of one hundred pounds According to the Warr^t^ w^th^in menconed. I say reē——— } l.

" JA. USSHER Armachan.

" Wittnes
" Wm BURLEY.

" (Indorsed) DOCTOR VSHER. 239."

In the beginning of the year 1648 the Primate published another work, exhibiting his chronological and astronomical knowledge. The title of the book was, "Jacobi Usserii Armachani de Macedonum et Asianorum anno solari Dissertatio: cum Græcorum astronomorum parapegmate ad Macedonum et Juliani anni rationes accomodata." One of his correspondents remarks, upon his dropping the title of Archbishop and Primate: "Equidem[p] libri tui frontem subtristis et pæne flens aspexi. Jacobi Usserii Armachani vidi, et quid, inquam ego apud me, de Archiepiscopo et totius Hiberniæ Primate fit? Hui: Tantane tam patienter nullo certamine tolli dona sines? tantaque doctrinæ virtutis et honoris insignia humeris illis pendentia detrahi vel diripi potius patieris? sed video quid sit; libris enim tuis tot tantisque plurimis et optimis Anglice Latineque olim conscriptis effectum esse putas, ut nulla regio tam remota sit, quæ non intelligat, nulla ætas tam fera quæ non recognoscat Armachani titulum huic operi præfixum non inquilinatus, sed honoris et dignitatis tuæ esse, et recte quidem putas itaque

> "'——— Parere necesse est.
> Nam quid agas, quum te furiosus cogat, et idem
> Fortior?'"

This was not however the first tract, in the title of which he had dropped any mention of his rank; the title-page of the tract on the Creed is exactly similar.

In this learned treatise the Primate establishes the fact, that the Macedonian months were changed from lunar to solar in the interval between the appointment of Philip to the command against the Phocians and the battle of Granicus; and then explains the subsequent introduction of solar months into Greece, by which means he solves many difficulties in chronology and ecclesiastical history: he endeavours particularly to determine the date of the martyrdom of Polycarp by many ingenious arguments, and fixes on the 26th of March, in the year[q] 169. He also compared the Gre-

[p] Letter 256, Works, vol. xvi. pag. 125.

[q] Another *giant* in learning, Bishop Pearson, has brought all his information to bear upon this point, and in seven dissertations refuted the po-

cian and Macedonian months with the Julian, and with those of other nations, and, having given the entire arrangement of the Macedonian and Asiatic year, he added the rules for the cycles of the sun and moon, and for finding Easter for ever. There are also added several curious accounts of the celestial motions, according to Meton, Calippus, Eudoxus, and others; and finally an Ephemeris, being a complete Greek and Roman calendar for the whole year, with the rising and setting of the stars, as laid down by the ancient Grecian astronomers.

When the news of the King being kept prisoner at Carisbrook Castle in the Isle of Wight came to London, the Primate preached at Lincoln's Inn on the text, "Say[r] ye not, A confederacy to all them to whom this people shall say, A confederacy: neither fear ye their fear nor be afraid. Sanctify the Lord of Hosts himself: and let him be your fear, and let him be your dread." In this sermon he expressed strongly his disapprobation of the proceedings taken by the two Houses of Parliament against their lawful Prince; he condemned covenants and confederacies entered into contrary to the former oath of allegiance, and clearly pointed out the obligation of all to fear God rather than man, in discharging their duty to their King and their country. Not long after, the Presbyterian party having recovered their former preponderance by the absence of the army, and fearing the return of the Independents to power, annulled their former vote for non-addresses, and determined to open a personal treaty with the King. As one of the principal subjects of debate was to be church government, the King required the assistance of some[s] of the episcopal clergy, and

sition of Archbishop Ussher by a variety of arguments, and proved almost to demonstration that Polycarp suffered martyrdom on the 26th of March, A. D. 147.

[r] Isaiah, chap. viii. ver. 12. 13.

[s] There is great diversity in the lists given of the clergy who attended. Fuller says, Archbishop Ussher, Duppa Bishop of Salisbury, Doctors Sheldon, Sanderson, Ferne, were in attendance; and that Prideaux Bishop of Worcester, and Brownrigg Bishop of Exeter, were summoned, but did not attend, the first from poverty, not having money to travel so far, the other having been imprisoned by the Parliament. Whitelock names Archbishop Ussher, Doctors Bainbridge, Prideaux, Warner, Ferne, and Mor-

permission was granted. Archbishop Ussher was not sent for, or certainly did not reach Newport, till the conference had been going on for a considerable time. He arrived in the month of November, and immediately preached before the King, on his birth-day. The text was, "Remember[t] thou art my first-born, my might and the beginning of my strength." The sermon was published[u] immediately after, not by the Archbishop, but by some persons who took notes, and, as Dr. Parr, who was present, states, very imperfectly. The sermon conveys the same ideas of prerogative and divine right, that are contained in the treatise of the Power of the Prince, which had been written some years before. Dr. Parr observes: "This sermon together with the Archbishops steady carriage in the point of Episcopacy did so much enrage both the Presbyterian and Independent factions, that in their news-books and pamphlets at London they reproached the Lord Primate for flattering the King, as also for his persuading him not to abolish Bishops; and that he had very much prejudiced the treaty; and that none among the Kings chaplains had been so mischievous (meaning to them) as he." The presence of the Primate was of little avail to settling the differences. He proposed again the plan he had drawn up in 1641, and obtained the consent of the Presbyterian clergy, who approved[v] of it as being, though not all they wished for, yet as much as they could expect to obtain. The King not only consented to the Primate's plan, but offered, in addition, to suspend the exercise of episcopal government for three years; that after that time

ley. Neal gives a much longer list: at the beginning of the conference, Juxon Bishop of London, Duppa Bishop of Salisbury, Dr. Sheldon, Dr. Hammond, Dr. Oldsworth, Dr. Sanderson, Dr. Turner, Dr. Haywood, and, towards the end, Ussher Archbishop of Armagh, Dr. Bramhall, Dr. Prideaux, Dr. Warner, Dr. Ferne, and Dr. Morley. This account is undoubtedly wrong: Drs. Sheldon and Hammond were sent for, but were kept in confinement at Oxford; Bishops Bramhall and Prideaux were also absent. It is strange that so simple a fact cannot be ascertained; there is however no doubt that the Archbishop of Armagh, the Bishop of Salisbury, Drs. Sanderson, Ferne, and Morley, were in attendance.

[t] Genesis, chap. xlix. ver. 3.

[u] The sermon is printed in the Archbishop's works, vol. xiii. pag. 353.

[v] See Baxter's Life, pag. 62.

the power of ordination should not be exercised by Bishops, except with the consent of Presbyters, and that no other episcopal jurisdiction should be exercised, except such as should be agreed upon by His Majesty and the two Houses of Parliament. The Parliamentary Commissioners were however determined[w] to abolish episcopacy, and would not consent to any compromise. I have already offered some remarks upon the plan[x] proposed by the Primate, which was entirely founded upon his principle, that a Bishop differed from a Presbyter in degree, not in order, a principle utterly, as it would seem, irreconcileable with the preface to the forms of ordination, which declares, that the Church receives the orders of Bishops, Priests, and Deacons. However, the Primate, in maintaining that the Bishop only differed from the Presbyter in degree, did not mean to assert what has been pleaded on his authority. His opinion was, as stated by Dr. Bernard, "that[y] the degree which the Bishop hath above a Presbyter is not to be understood as an arbitrary matter at the pleasure of men but that he held it to be of Apostolical institution—and that this gradus is both derived

[w] Charles gave a happy illustration of the nature of this treaty, in which not one of his propositions was conceded: "Consider Mr. Buckley, if you call this a treaty, whether it be not like the fray in the comedy, where the man comes out and says, there has been a fray and no fray, and being asked how that could be? Why, says he, there hath been three blows given and I had them all."

Similar was the description of the satyrist:

"Si rixa est ubi tu pulsas, ego vapulo tantum."

The extraordinary license which the dissenting ministers assumed is sufficiently proved by two of them daring to tell His Majesty, "that if he would not consent to the utter abolition of Episcopacy, he would be damned."

[x] Dr. Aikin's view of this subject is strange; he says: "The good pastor is to be applauded for an attempt to unite in the bonds of Christian communion two hostile parties by an expedient which he thought need not shock the prejudices of either." This is, at least, an assumption that *prejudices* alone interfered in the question, whether the expedient was consistent with the true doctrines of Christianity. Dr. Aikin has, indeed, been correct in using the word *expedient*, and like other schemes of expediency, it weakened the cause it was intended to uphold, without effecting the imagined good.

[y] Bernard on Ordination by Presbyters, pag. 128.

from the pattern prescribed by God in the old Testament (where that distinction is found in the title of the Chief Priest, who had the rule of the rest, called by the LXX. ἐπίσκοπος) and from the imitation thereof brought in by the Apostles and confirmed by Christ in the time of the New." This explanation[a] of the opinion held by the Primate, and it is given by an unexceptionable witness, will not tend much to support the doctrine held by the Presbyterians, and must cause deep regret, that the learned Prelate used expressions capable of being wrested to a sense totally different from what was intended.

Baxter relates a story of the Primate, which is scarcely credible; he says: "I[a] asked him also his judgment about the validity of presbyters' ordination; which he asserted, and told me, that the King asked him in the isle of Wight, wherever he found in antiquity, that Presbyters alone ordained any? and that he answered, I can shew your Majesty more, even where Presbyters alone successively ordained Bishops: and instanced in Hierom's words of the presbyters of Alexandria chusing and making their own Bishops from the days of Mark till Heraclius and Dionysius." This story is not only inconsistent with the opinions at other times put forward by the Primate, but rests upon so extraordinary a mistake as to the meaning of Jerome, that it is difficult to admit its veracity, however respectable the authority. Jerome does not speak[b] of the ordination of bishops, but of their election; he states that each new bishop was elected by the presbyters out of their own body, and placed by them on the episcopal throne in token of his election, an act which was not unfrequently, in those days, performed by the people. The consecration followed, and was always per-

[a] The distinction between order and degree was wholly unknown to the ancient Church, and was invented by the schoolmen, for the purpose of supporting their extravagant notions of the priesthood.

[a] Baxter's Life, pag. 206.

[b] "Alexandriæ a Marco Evangelista usque ad Heraclium et Dionysium Episcopos, Presbyteri semper unum ex se electum in excelsiore gradu collocatum Episcopum nominabant: quomodo si Exercitus Imperatorem faciat."—*Hieron. Epist. ad Evang.* Op. tom. iv. p. 2, pag. 802.

formed by the provincial bishops. In the very next sentence Jerome states that none but a Bishop can ordain.

Dr. Bernard relates a correspondence with the Archbishop, which gives a much more correct statement of his views, and proves that the difficulty, which embarrassed him, was the validity of the orders in the Continental churches. The Primate was most determined in upholding their validity, and hence was led to lower his doctrine of episcopacy as far as was possible, and perhaps farther than was consistent with his upholding its apostolical origin. Dr. Bernard states, that a report was circulated of the Primate having given an unfavorable judgment of *the ordination beyond the sea*, founded on the following statement: "Mr.[c] ——— asked the Archbishop of Armagh on occasion of an ordination, what he thought of them that were ordained by Presbyters; he said he judged their ordination to be null, and looked on them as laymen. He asked him what he conceived of the Churches beyond the sea. The Bishop answered he had charitable thoughts of them in France: but as for Holland he questioned if there was a church amongst them or not; or words to that purpose: this Dr. —— confidently reports." The paper containing this statement was forwarded to the Primate by Dr. Bernard, who gives the following extracts from his Grace's answer; it is unfortunate and rather extraordinary that he did not give the whole letter: "Touching Mr. —— I cannot call to mind that he ever proposed to me the question in your letter enclosed, neither do I know the Dr. who hath spread the report; but for the matter itself, I have ever declared my opinion to be that Episcopus et Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine, and consequently that in places where Bishops cannot be had, the ordination of Presbyters standeth valid[d]: yet on the other side holding as I do, that a

[c] Bernard of Ordination, pag. 125.

[d] Dr. Bernard remarks, that "if the ordination of Presbyters in such places where Bishops cannot be had, were not valid, the late Bishops of Scotland had a hard task to maintain themselves to be Bishops, who were not Priests, for their ordination was no other. And for this a passage in the Historie of Scotland wrote by the Archbishop of St. Andrews

Bishop hath a superiority in degree over a Presbyter, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such Presbyters, as have severed themselves from those Bishops, unto whom they had sworn canonical obedience, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical; and howsoever I must needs think that the Churches, which have no Bishops, are thereby become very much defective in their government, and that the Churches in France, who living under a popish power cannot do what they would, are more excusable in this defect than the Low Countries, that live under a free state, yet for testifying my communion with

is observable, viz. that when the Scots bishops were to be consecrated by the Bishops of London, Ely, and Bath here at London House An. 1609 he saith, a question was moved by Dr. Andrews Bishop of Ely touching the consecration of the Scottish Bishops, who, as he said, 'must first be ordained presbyters as having received no ordination from a Bishop.' The Archbishop of Canterbury, Doctor Bancroft, who was by, maintained 'that thereof there was no necessity, seeing where Bishops could not be had, the ordination given by the Presbyters must be esteemed lawfull, otherwise that it might be doubted if there were any lawfull vocation in most of the Reformed Churches.' This applauded to by the other Bishops, Ely acquiesced and at the day, and in the place appointed the three Scottish Bishops were consecrated by the above said three English Bishops." The opinion here assigned to Archbishop Bancroft was not given by that distinguished Prelate. His opinion was, that there was no necessity the Scottish Bishops should pass through the intermediate orders of deacon and priest, for that the episcopal character might be fully conveyed at one consecration; and for this he quoted several remarkable precedents. Ambrose and Nectarius, both laymen, were consecrated bishops, one of Milan, the other of Constantinople; and Eucherius was consecrated Bishop of Lyons without passing the inferior orders.

Neal, in his History of the Puritans, attributes this latter opinion to Abbot, Bishop of London; and Mr. Carwithen considers it more probable than the other account given by Heylin and Collier. This I cannot understand. The assertion of the validity of Presbyterian orders is quite inconsistent with the opinions of Bancroft, whom Neal describes, in the very next page, as the first who maintained the divine right of episcopacy; and is quite consonant to the known sentiments of Abbot, who (to use the words of Lord Clarendon), "for the strict observation of the discipline of the Church or the conformity to the articles or canons established, made little inquiry and took less care; and having made very little progress in the ancient and solid study of Divinity, he adhered only to the doctrine of Calvin, and for his sake did not think so ill of his Discipline as he ought to have done."

these churches (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church Universal) I do professe that with like affection I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French ministers if I were in Charentone." It is probable that this extract is fairly given, because Dr. Bernard has left the offensive word *schismatical* as applicable to the Dissenters in this country. He is most anxious to do away the unfavorable impression, and makes the following extraordinary explanation, to weaken its application to those for whom, no doubt, it was intended: "All that can give any offence is that term of *schism*. But in regard tis not directly determined, but onely that he could not be an advocate to excuse it; and being delivered in that latitude, that tis dubious whether forreign (to which the question relateth) or domestike, former times or latter, may take the application." This is solemn trifling. Archbishop Ussher, living in the midst of, and suffering from the violence of Dissenters, who had thrown off their canonical obedience, could not have forgotten that his expressions might apply to his own country; could not have used them without direct reference to what was every hour passing before him. And this passage alone is sufficient answer to all the statements which have been industriously put forward, and to which I have alluded in the early years of his Primacy, as to the favor he bestowed upon the Dissenters of the north of Ireland. His mild and gentle nature prevented him from engaging in hostility with them, perhaps from asserting the dignity of his office as much as he ought; but schismatics he must ever have considered them, and have been most anxious to bring them back to the Church which they had deserted."

The offence taken by the Parliament at the conduct of Archbishop Ussher was soon exhibited in a manner most offensive to the distinguished individual. The Primate having taken his last leave of the King, proceeded to Southampton, on his way to London, and was requested to preach there on the following Sunday. No sooner had the commanding officer of the garrison heard of this, than he called

upon the Primate, and asked him whether it was true that he intended to preach on the morrow. On the Primate's informing him that such was his intention, the officer answered, that it could not be permitted, and obliged him to withdraw his promise. Dr. Parr says, "they were afraid of his plain dealing, and that he would have declared against that villainy they were then about to execute."

The Primate proceeded to London, and again took up his residence at the house of Lady Peterborough, near Charing Cross, whence he saw, for the last time, his beloved Sovereign, on the day of his execution. The narrative is thus given by Dr. Parr[e]: "The Lady Peterborough's house being just over against Charing Cross, divers of the Countesse's gentlemen and servants got upon the leads of the house, from whence they could see plainly what was acting at Whitehall: as soon as his Majesty came upon the scaffold, some of the Household came and told my Lord Primate of it, and askt him if he would see the King once more before he was put to death: My Lord was at first unwilling, but was at last perswaded to go up; as well out of his desire to see his Majesty once again, as also curiosity, since he could scarce believe what they told him unless he saw it: when he came upon the leads, the King was in his speech; the Lord Primate stood still and said nothing but sighed, and lifting up his hands and eyes (full of tears) towards Heaven seemed to pray earnestly; but when his Majesty had done speaking, and had pulled off his cloak and doublet, and stood stripped in his waistcoat, and that the villains in vizards began to put up his hair, the good Bishop no longer able to endure so dismal a sight, and being full of grief and horror for that most wicked fact now ready to be executed, grew pale and began to faint; so that if he had not been observed by his own servant and some others that stood near him (who thereupon supported him) he had swooned away. So they presently carried him down and laid him on his bed, where he used those powerful wea-

[e] He was not present himself, but gives the narrative as it was related by the Archbishop's faithful servant to his grandson, Mr. James Tyrrell.

pons, which God has left his people in such afflictions, viz. prayers and tears; tears that so horrid a sin should be committed, and prayers that God would give his Prince patience and constancy to undergo these cruel sufferings; and that he likewise would not (for the vindication of his own honour and providence) permit so great a wickedness to pass unpunished." Dr. Parr further remarks, "that the Lord Primate was so deeply sensible and afflicted, that he kept that day as a private fast so long as he lived; and would always bewail the scandal and reproach it cast, not only on our own nation but religion itself; saying that thereby a great advantage was given to Popery, and that from thenceforward the Priests would with greater success advance their designs against the Church of England and Protestant religion in general."

The suspicion which the Primate expressed, that the advancement of Popery was connected with the commotions in England, was shortly after fully confirmed by a letter which he received from the Bishop of Derry. In this letter[f] the Bishop states, that "in the year 1646 by an order from Rome above 100 of the Romish clergy were sent into England, and were most of them soldiers in the Parliament's army, and were daily to correspond with the Romanists in our late King's army, that were lately at Oxford and pretended to fight for his sacred Majesty: for at that time there were some Roman Catholicks who did not know the design a contriving against our Church and State of England."

This letter gave great offence many years afterwards; the circumstances are thus related by Evelyn: "18 April 1686. In[g] the afternoon I went to Camberwell to visit Dr. Parr. After sermon I accompanied him to his house, where he shew'd me the Life and Letters of the late learned Primate of Armagh (Usher) and among them the letter of B[p] Bramhal's to the Primate, giving notice of the Popish practices to pervert this nation by sending an hundred Priests

[f] Letter 322. Works, vol. xvi. pag. 293.
[g] Evelyn's Memoirs, vol. i. pag. 626.

into England, who were to conforme themselves to all sectaries and conditions[h] for the more easily dispersing their

[h] Dr. Aikin states, that "there is reason to believe that this imputation was merely the product of party credulity and calumny." Some of the reasons assigned by him are curious: "The inveteracy of the Presbyterians against their persecutors was sufficiently great not to require any stimulus, their strength was too considerable to need petty aid, the conduct and character of their leaders were in general clear and open." The inveteracy of the Presbyterians is one of the things to be explained, for it seems difficult of explanation, how they could have been excited to oppose the established order for such mere trifles; and we can trace, from the days of Edward to the death of Charles, a constant interference of the emissaries from Rome to disturb the Church of England. It would not be easy to find two words less descriptive of the characters of the leaders opposed to Charles than *clear and open*. Cromwell might be selected as the very personification of dissimulation. But Dr. Aikin continues his argument by asserting that Bishop Bramhall was bad evidence, because "a party refugee in a foreign country is of all persons the most subject to be imposed upon." Without commenting upon the application of the epithets *party refugee* to so distinguished a prelate, I shall only remark, that there are few individuals in the history of that time less likely to be imposed upon than Bishop Bramhall. But we have very strong evidence in corroboration, given by a layman who was not a refugee. Sir William Boswell wrote, from the Hague, the following letter to Archbishop Laud, in the year 1640:

"Most Reverend;

"As I am here employ'd by our soveraign lord the King, your Grace can testify that I have left no stone unturn'd for his Majesty's advancement; neither can I omit (whenever I meet with treacheries or conspiracies against the Church and State of England) the sending your Grace an accompt in general. I fear matters will not answer your expectations, if your Grace do but seriously weigh them with deliberation. For be you assur'd, the Romish clergy have gull'd the misled party of our English nation, and that under a puritanical dress; for which the several fraternities of that Church, have lately received indulgences from the See of Rome, and Council of Cardinals, for to educate several of the young fry of the Church of Rome, who be natives of his Majesty's realms and dominions, and instruct them in all manner of principles and tenets contrary to the episcopacy of the Church of England.

"There be in the town of Hague, to my certain knowledg, two dangerous impostors, of whom I have given notice to the Prince of Orange, who have large indulgences granted them, and known to be of the Church of Rome, altho they seem Puritans, and do converse with several of our English factors.

"The one, James Murray, a Scotchman, and the other John Napper, a Yorkshire blade. The main drift of their intentions is, to pull down the English episcopacy, as being the chief support of the imperial Crown

doctrine among us. The letter was the cause of ye whole impression being seiz'd, upon pretence that it was a politi-

of our nation: for which purpose above sixty Romish clergy-men are gone within these two years out of the monasteries of the French king's dominions, to preach up the Scotch covenant, and Mr. Knox his descriptions and rules within that Kirk, and to spread the same about the northern coasts of England. Let therefore his Majesty have an inkling of these crotchets, that he might be persuaded, whenever matters of the Church come before you, to refer them to your Grace, and the episcopal party of the realm: for there be great preparations making ready against the Liturgy and ceremonies of the Church of England: and all evil contrivances here and in France, and in other Protestant holdings to make your Grace and the episcopacy odious to all Reformed Protestants abroad. It has wrought so much on divers of the forreign ministers of the Protestants, that they esteem our clergy little better than Papists. The main things that they hit in our teeth are, our bishops to be called lords; the service of the Church; the cross in baptism; confirmation; bowing at the name of Jesus; the Communion Tables placed altar-ways; our manner of consecrations: and several other matters which be of late buzz'd into the heads of the forreign clergy, to make your grievances the less regarded in case of a change, which is aimed at, if not speedily prevented.

"Your Grace's letter is carefully delivered by my gentleman's own hands unto the Prince.

"Thus craving your Graces hearty prayers for my undertakings abroad, as also for my safe arrival, that I may have the freedom to kiss your Grace's hands, and to tell you more at large of these things; I rest,

"Your Grace's most humble Servant,

"*Hague, June* 12, 1640." "WILLIAM BOSWELL.

The following passage from Baxter's Life, written by himself, ought not to be suppressed: "And here I shall insert a passage not contemptible concerning the Papists, because I am fallen into the mention of them. In Cromwells days when I was writing that very book (a book against the Papists) and my Holy Commonwealth, and was charging their treasons and rebellions on the army, one Mr. James Stanfield, a reverend minister of Gloucestershire, called on me and told me a story; which afterwards he sent me under his hand and warranted me to publish it, which was this;

"One Mr. Atkins of Gloucestershire, brother to Judge Atkins, being beyond sea with others that had served the late King, fell into intimate acquaintance with a priest, that had been (or then was) governor of one of their colleges in Flanders; they agreed not to meddle with each other about religion, and so continued their friendship long. A little after the King was beheaded, Mr. Atkins met this priest in London and going into a tavern with him, said to him in his familiar way, 'What business have you here? I warrant you come about some roguery or other.' Whereupon the priest told him as a great secret, 'that there were thirty of them here in London, who by instructions from Cardinal Mazarine did take care of such affairs, and had sate in council and debated the question, whether

cal or historical account of things not relating to theology, tho' it had been licensed by ye Bishop; which plainly shew'd

the King should be put to death or not? and that it was carried in the affirmative, and there were but two voices for the negative, which was his own and another: and that for his part he would not concur with them as foreseeing what misery they would bring upon the country.' That Mr. Atkins stood to the truth of this, but thought it a violation of the laws of friendship to name the man.

"I would not print it without fuller attestation lest it should be a wrong to the Papists. But when the King was restored, and settled in peace, I told it occasionally to a Privy Counsellor, who not advising me to meddle any further in it, because the King knew enough of Mazarine's designs already, I let it alone. But about this time I met with Dr. Thomas Goad, and occasionally mentioning such a thing, he told me that he was familiarly acquainted with Mr. Atkins and would know the certainty of him, whether it were true: and not long after meeting him again, he told me that he spoke with Mr. Atkins and that he assured him that it was true; but he was loath to meddle in the publication of it. Nor did I think it prudence myself to do it, as knowing the malice and power of the Papists." —*Reliq. Baxter*, b. i. par. ii. pag. 373.

Baxter then refers to a work by Peter Du Moulin, called, "A vindication of the sincerity of the Protestant religion in the point of obedience to Sovereigns, opposed to the doctrine of Rebellion, authorized and practised by the Pope and the Jesuits, in answer to a Jesuitical libel entituled Philanax Anglicus." In the second chapter of this work Du Moulin proves that the democratic principles which overturned the monarchy in Charles the First's time, had been first taught by the Jesuits, Bellarmine, Suarez, Lessius, and Mariana, and then states several facts, which strongly corroborate the account given by Primate Bramhall and Mr. Baxter. Bishop Kennet, in his Diary, also shews, from a sermon preached by Dr. Whincup before the House of Lords, that these plots of the Court of Rome had been detected even in 1645, and the impending danger pointed out to the nation.

The proofs corroborative of the statements made by Archbishop Bramhall and Mr. Boswell are too numerous for insertion here, and are to be found in Mr. Ware's work, "Foxes and Firebrands." To the authenticity of the documents quoted in this work Strype bears strong testimony, in the preface to his Life of Archbishop Parker. One of the most remarkable stories I shall give, as it will not occupy much room: "When the late King was murthered, Mr. Henry Spotswood riding casually that way just as his head was cut off, espied the Queen's confessor there on horseback, in the habit of a trooper, drawing forth his sword and flourishing it over his own head in triumph (as others then did): at which Mr. Spotswood being much amazed and being familiarly acquainted with the Confessor rode up to him and said, 'O Father I little thought to have found you here, or any of your profession at such a sad spectacle,' to which he answered that there were at least forty or more priests on horseback besides himself."—*Foxes and Firebrands*, p. ii. pag. 86.

what an interest the Papists now had, that a Protestant booke, containing the life and letters of an eminent man, was not to be publish'd. There were also many letters to and from most of the learned persons his correspondents in Europe. The book will, I doubt not, struggle through this unjust impediment."

The Primate, except so far as his duty[1] at Lincoln's Inn obliged him to appear, kept himself retired from public affairs, and never in any manner acknowledged the usurpation. His opinion, as frequently expressed, was, that the usurpation of Cromwell was like that of some of the Grecian tyrants, and would have a similar fate, as it began by an army, so it commonly ended with the death of the usurper. The Primate now laboured assiduously to complete what had been the occupation of many a year, and at length, in the year 1650, published the first part of his Annals of the Old Testament, extending from the Creation to the reign of Antiochus Epiphanes. The title of the work was, "Annalium Pars prior a temporis historici principio usque ad Maccabaicorum initia producta; una cum Rerum Asiaticarum et Ægyptiarum Chronico;" and in 1654 appeared the second part, entitled, "Annalium pars posterior in qua, præter Maccabaicam et Novi Testamenti Historiam, Imperii Romanorum Cæsarum sub C. Juliano et Octaviano ortus, rerumque in Asia et Ægypto gestarum continetur Chronicon, ab Antiochi Epiphanis regni exordio usque ad Imperii Vespasiani initia atque extremum Templi et Reipublicæ Judaicæ excidium deductum." The completion of the work was to have been an Ecclesiastical Chronicle, from the destruction of the Temple to the beginning of the fourth

[1] Evelyn notices the preaching of the Primate at Lincoln's Inn.

"1649, March 25. I heard the Common Prayer (a rare thing in these days) in St. Peter's, at Paul's Wharf, London; and in the morning the Archbishop of Armagh, that pious and learned man, Usher, in Lincoln's Inn Chapel.

"June 10. Preached the Archbishop of Armagh in Lincoln's Inn, from Romans 5. verse 13.

"1652, March 29. I heard y^t^ excellent Prelate the Primate of Ireland (Jacob. Usher), preach in Lincoln's Inn, on 4 Heb. 16. encouraging penitent sinners."

century after Christ, but this he did not live to finish. The general merits of this great work are so well known, that it is unnecessary to dwell upon them. The system has been adopted in the Reformed Churches, and the dates of Ussher have been annexed to the later editions of the Bible, and sanctioned by public authority. He fixed the creation of the world in the year 4004 before Christ, which subsequently was discovered to be a very remarkable astronomical epoch; and, following the Hebrew chronology, placed the Deluge in the year of the world 1656, or 2348 before Christ. The two other remarkable periods which he fixed for establishing his harmony of sacred and profane chronology were the Exode, in the year of the world 2513, or 1491 years before Christ, and the return of the Jews, that is, the first year of Cyrus, in the year of the world 3468, or 536 years before Christ.

About this time a very bitter controversy was carried on between Ludovicus Cappellus and Arnold Boate[j], an eminent Hebrew scholar, concerning the various readings in the Hebrew text of the Bible, and the possibility of correcting them by the Septuagint. Both parties appealed to the Primate, but he declined giving an opinion, till at length he yielded to the repeated importunity of Cappellus, and published "Epistola ad Ludovicum Cappellum de textus Hebraici variantibus lectionibus," 1652. Three years afterwards he republished this letter, and another addressed to himself by William Eyre, at the end of a tract, "De Græca Septuaginta interpretum versione Syntagma: cum libri Estheræ editione Origenica et vetere Græca altera ex Arundeliana Bibliotheca nunc primum in lucem producta[k]."

[j] Bishop Marsh says that "his name is now buried in oblivion, and deserves to be mentioned on no other account than that this attack was published in the form of a letter to Archbishop Usher."—*Lectures*, pag. 211. These remarks are unjustly severe. Archbishop Ussher certainly entertained a high opinion of the acquirements of Boate, and vindicates his observations in very decided language from the animadversions of Cappellus.

[k] These are printed at the close of the seventh volume of the Archbishop's works. The treatise on the Septuagint is the only work placed

It is well known that Cappellus was the first writer who ventured to question the propriety of the respect with which the Hebrew text was received. He was Hebrew Professor at the French Protestant University of Saumur, and published[1], in 1624, his celebrated work, "Arcanum Punctuationis revelatum." This work contains almost every argument that has since been urged against the antiquity of the Hebrew vowel points, and was considered as an attack upon the integrity of the Hebrew text itself. Into this question the controversy soon turned, and Cappellus published, in 1650, his "Critica sacra."

The Archbishop vindicates Buxtorf and Boate from the charge brought against them by Cappellus, of not allowing the slightest variation in the Hebrew text, and quotes from the younger Buxtorf the following passage: "Neque enim existimo tales esse ut in nullo plane punctulo, apiculo aut literula a primis Mosis et prophetarum autographis apographa unquam discesserint aut nullum omnino vitium vel levissimum in eos irrepserit. Nam ne ipsi quidem Judæi hoc asserunt: qui et antiquitus jam exemplaria corrupta, sed ab Esra iterum correcta et restituta fuisse; et posterioribus temporibus cum inter celebres authores, tum inter exemplaria varia dissensiones et discrepantes quasdam lectiones." He also strongly censures the opinion of Cappellus, that the ancient versions of Scripture are to be considered as so many copies of the Hebrew original, or that the variations of the Hebrew text can be collected from them with the same certainty as from Hebrew manuscripts. And more particularly he refutes the notion, that the Septuagint version exhibited the text of a Hebrew manuscript in existence when the translation was made. He remarks that there may be other causes, besides a variation of copy, for differences in a translation, and quotes from Cappellus himself the acknowledgment that he had observed in the Septua-

out of chronological order, but this transposition was rendered necessary by the impossibility of commencing the Annals at the close of a volume.

[1]Cappellus did not venture to publish this work in France, but employed Espenius to edit it at Leyden.

gint many shameful deviations from the true meaning of words and phrases, and from the design of the sacred writers, even in those passages of Scripture where the translators evidently had the same text which we now possess.

The Archbishop equally rejects the use of the Samaritan Pentateuch for ascertaining various readings in the Hebrew. He conceives that this corruption of the Hebrew text was introduced among the Samaritans by Dositheus, who is mentioned by Origen as an impostor, pretending to be the Christ foretold by Moses. These attempts to introduce various readings from the version of the Septuagint and the Samaritan Pentateuch, he designates as "viam longe periculosissimam ad pervertendum Spiritus Sancti in mille Scripturæ locis germanum sensum." He then gives his own version very clearly: "Sententia mea hæc perpetua fuit. Hebræum Veteris Testamenti codicem scribarum erroribus non minus esse obnoxium, quam Novi codicem et libros omnes alios: sed ad errores illos dignoscendos et corrigendos peculiare hic nobis suppeditavisse subsidium tantopere ab omnibus prædicatam Masoretharum industriam. Ex quibusdam veterum interpretationibus excerpi aliquas posse variantes textus Hebraici lectiones: ex vulgata Græca versione et editione Samaritana nullas."

The Archbishop, in his Treatise on the Septuagint, puts forward an opinion in which he is almost singular. He maintains that the seventy Jews sent from Jerusalem to Ptolemy Philadelphus translated only the Pentateuch, and that this version, accurately corresponding with the Hebrew, was deposited in the Alexandrine Library. That subsequently, in the reign of Philometor, an Alexandrine Jew translated not only the Pentateuch, but all the books of the Old Testament, in order to gratify the curiosity of the Gentiles about the Jewish religion. That this version was more correct in the Pentateuch than in any other part, because the author availed himself of the celebrated translation lodged in the Library of Ptolemy, and soon was generally received by the Jews, ignorant of any language but Greek. The Greeks converted to Christianity by the Apos-

tles received this version from the Hellenist Jews living amongst them, and the Latins from the Greeks.

The Archbishop further supposes, that although the original copy of the Septuagint perished when the Alexandrine Library was destroyed by fire in the war of Julius Cæsar, yet some copies were preserved by private individuals: that Philo saw one of those copies, which he so highly extolled for its faithfulness, yet quoted in his works the common edition. In the new Alexandrine Library, founded by Cleopatra, a copy of the later version, revised by some person well skilled in the Hebrew language, was deposited, and remained for several ages, to the time of Chrysostom; and that from it Origen inserted in the Hexapla that which was considered the uncorrupted version of the Septuagint, distinguished for its greater purity from the Vulgate. Archbishop Ussher adds, that the copy which was preserved in the Library of Cleopatra had been sent to her by Herod along with a copy of the original Hebrew, and thus accounts for an extraordinary mistake of Justin Martyr. He says: "Ad bibliothecam Cleopatræ ornandam Herodes Judæorum rex libros sacros Instrumenti veteris Hebraica lingua conscriptos misit, ac Græcam eorundem, quæ Hellenistis in Syria et Palæstina tum in usu erat, interpretationem, ab aliquibus Hebraicæ linguæ peritis (ut videtur) recognitam et pluribus in locis emendatam, quantum ex Justini M. secunda pro Christianis Apologia colligere licet, mira quadam ἀβλεψίᾳ Ptolemæi Philadelphi et Cleopatræ bibliothecarum historiam commiscentis." The opinion of the Archbishop was refuted soon after its publication by Henry de Valois, better known as Valesius, who, however, did not fail, while opposing the theory of the Archbishop, to bear testimony to the greatness of his learning, and the value of his labors. He thus addresses the Archbishop: "Nolo hic tibi laudes tuas ingerere. Neque enim id modestia tua, nec amicitia nostra patitur. In plerisque quidem, quæ illic a te scripta sunt, assentior tibi; tuamque eximiam eruditionem et acumen ingenii magnopere demiror. Sunt tamen nonnulla a quibus a te dissentiri cogor invitus." At a subsequent period the whole subject was discussed with great learning

by Dr. Hody, and almost every writer unites with him in condemning the theory of the Archbishop. This was the last work published by Archbishop Ussher.

For some time it had suited the policy of Oliver Cromwell to confer favors upon a few of the episcopal clergy. He had sent for Dr. Brownrigg, Bishop of Exeter, and treated him with great professions of respect; and he had made Dr. Bernard, Dean of Kilmore, formerly chaplain to Archbishop Ussher, his Almoner. Cromwell now directed his attention to Archbishop Ussher, and expressed a desire to see him. The Primate at first hesitated to comply with the request, but afterwards, fearing lest he might exasperate[m] the Protector against himself and the other episcopal clergy, he obeyed the command. Dr. Parr is able only to state that Cromwell received his visitor with great civility, but could not learn what was the precise nature of the conversation between them, but that it referred generally to the promotion of the Protestant interest at home and abroad. It is very improbable that Cromwell would have adopted any advice that Archbishop Ussher gave him, but no doubt he wished to make a display of consulting one whose character was held in such high estimation over every part of Europe. Dr. Bernard asserts that Cromwell settled upon the Archbishop a sum of money arising from deodands; but the only favor Dr. Parr was aware of being offered, was a promise to grant him a lease for twenty-one years of part of the lands belonging to the see of Armagh, which the Archbishop did not refuse, regarding them as in justice his own, and wishing to make some provision for his daughter[n] and many grand-

[m] Dr. Aikin says: "Cromwell showed himself superior to the religious bigotry which at that time pervaded almost every sect, and was as far as policy would suffer him to be the friend of toleration:" yet within two pages he is obliged to record one of the most tyrannical acts of intolerance on record. The utmost extent of his liberality was, that he extended unlimited toleration to all except to Roman Catholics and members of the Church of England. These he persecuted rigorously.

[n] It must have been about this time that Mrs. Ussher died, but no mention is made of the event by any biographer. Dr. Parr states that it preceded the Archbishop's death a year and a half. On the 27th June, 1662, a pension of £500 per annum was granted to Lady Tyrrel by the Irish Parliament.

children, for whom he had as yet been able to do nothing. The grant, however, never actually passed during the Primate's life, and after his death was refused to his daughter and her husband, on the pretext of *malignancy*.

About this time he resigned the office of preacher to the Society of Lincoln's Inn, in consequence of the failure of his sight[o] and the loss of his teeth. He, however, preached several times after his resignation; as a mark of respect to the Society of Gray's Inn, where he had been admitted a member thirty years before, he preached in their chapel on the 5th of November, 1654, and, for the last time, at Hammersmith, about Michaelmas, 1655. In November, 1654, his friend Selden, perceiving that his life was drawing to a close, sent for the Archbishop and Dr. Langbaine, and conversed with them on the state of his mind. Selden is reported to have said, "that he had his study full of books and papers of most subjects in the world; yet at that time he could not recollect any passage wherever he could rest his soul, save out of the holy Scriptures, wherein the most remarkable passage that lay most upon his spirit was that in the Epistle to Titus, 'For the grace of God that bringeth salvation has appeared to all men, teaching us, that, denying ungodliness and worldly lusts, we should live soberly, righteously, and godly, in this present world; looking for that blessed hope and the glorious appearing of the great God and our Saviour Jesus Christ; who gave himself for us, that he might redeem us from all iniquity, and purify unto himself a peculiar people, zealous of good works.'" We must admire the happy choice of the passage upon which the illustrious scholar rested his hopes, for, to use the words of Bishop Horne, "were it required to produce from the Scriptures that passage which exhibits in fewest words the fullest account of the nature and design of Christianity, this is perhaps the passage that should be fixed on for the purpose." The death of Selden soon followed, and his executors

[o] Dr. Bernard says: "No spectacles could help him, only when the sun shined he could see at a window, which he hourly followed from room to room in the house he lived in; in winter the window was often opened for him to write at."

called upon the Primate to preach his funeral sermon. On the 14th of December the remains of Selden were interred in the Temple Church, with a full attendance of persons of the highest rank, along with the Benchers and his numerous friends. Archbishop Ussher pronounced a high and merited eulogium on his attainments. He said, "he looked upon the person deceased as so great a scholar, that himself was scarce worthy to carry his books after him."

In the following year[p] the Archbishop was again called into conference with the Protector. Cromwell, irritated by the repeated attempts to effect the restoration of the exiled monarch, "resolved[q] to keep no longer any terms with the royalists, who, though they were not perhaps the most implacable of his enemies, were those whom he could oppress under the most plausible pretences, and who met with least countenance and protection from his adherents." Against the laity he enforced a most grievous and vexatious imposition, which passed by the name of decimation, and compelled them, without regard to any antecedent compositions or acts of indemnity, to redeem themselves anew by large sums of money. From the episcopal clergy he could extort but little money, and he issued a declaration prohibiting them, under severe penalties, from teach-

[p] Evelyn gives an account of an interview with the Archbishop during this year: "August 21. At Rygate was now ye Archbishop of Armagh, the learned James Usher, whom I went to visite. He receiv'd me exceeding kindly. In discourse with him he told me how greate the loss of time was to study much the Eastern languages; that excepting Hebrew there was little fruite to be gather'd of exceeding labour; that besides some mathematical bookes, the Arabic itself had little considerable; that the best text was ye Hebrew Bible; that ye Septuagint was finish'd in 70 daies, but full of errors about which he was then writing; that St. Hierom's was to be valued next the Hebrew; also that the 70 translated the Pentateuch onely, the rest was finish'd by others; that the Italians at present understood but little Greeke, and Kircher was a mountebank; that Mr. Selden's best book was his Titles of Honour; that the Church would be destroyed by sectaries, who would in all likelihood bring in Poperie. In conclusion he recommended me to ye study of Philologie above all human studies; and so with his blessing I took my leave of this excellent person, and returned to Wotton."—*Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. i. pag. 294.

[q] Hume, Commonwealth, chap. 61.

ing in a school, either public or private, or from exercising any part of their ministerial functions. Many of the clergy in London and its neighbourhood, hearing that Cromwell professed great respect for Archbishop Ussher, entreated him to wait upon the Protector and endeavour to procure for them the same liberty of conscience which he granted to all classes of Dissenters; to solicit permission, as they were excluded from the public churches, to officiate in their own private congregations; and to be secured from the disturbance of the soldiers, who interrupted their service and insulted their persons. The Archbishop complied, and prevailed so far as to obtain a promise that the episcopal clergy should not be molested, provided they did not interfere with subjects relating to the Government. The Primate went a second time to get the promise confirmed and put in writing. He found the Protector under the hands of his surgeon, who was dressing a boil on his breast. The Protector requested the Primate to sit down, and that he would speak with him as soon as the dressing was completed. Upon this a very remarkable conversation ensued. Cromwell addressed the Primate, and said, pointing to the boil, "if this core were once out, I should be soon well." The Archbishop replied: "I doubt the core lies deeper; there is a core in the heart, which must be taken out or else it will not be well." "Ah!" replied the Protector, "so there is indeed." And, though he affected to be unconcerned, a sigh followed his words. When the Primate introduced the subject of his visit, Cromwell told him, that having more maturely considered the subject, he had been advised by his council not to grant any indulgence to men who were restless and implacable enemies to his person and government; and then dismissed him with professions of civility and kindness. The aged Archbishop returned to his lodgings in great agitation, and deeply lamented the ill success of his interference. Dr. Parr relates, that he visited the Primate soon after in his chamber, and heard from him words to the following effect: "This false man hath broken his word with me, and refuses to perform what he promised; well, he will have little cause to glory in his wick-

edness, for he will not continue long; the King will return; though I shall not live to see it, you may. The Government, both in Church and State, is in confusion, the Papists are advancing their projects, and making such advantages as will hardly be prevented[r]."

[r] "The Primate of Ireland, after interceding with Cromwell for ejected ministers without success, retired to the country, using this expression to Dr. Gauden, 'that he saw some men had only guts and no bowels,' intestina non viscera." — *Further Continuation of Friendly Debates.* London, 1670, p. 148.

Another writer states that the Archbishop succeeded: "Tis true Oliver Cromwell and his officers did once, upon some provocation of a pretended plot against him, by a proclamation prohibit their preaching, keeping schools, &c. But by the intercession of that excellent man, Archbishop Usher, they had their liberty again, and preached and enjoyed their places all the time of the usurpation, and those that were kept out of their livings had their fifths allowed them."—*Fourth Plea of the Conformists for the Non-Conformists*, p. 110. This statement is quite erroneous, as the following extracts from Evelyn's Memoirs will abundantly prove:

"Nov. 27. This day came forth the Protector's edict or proclamation, prohibiting all ministers of the Church of England from preaching or teaching any scholes, in which he imitated the Apostate Julian; with ye decimation of all ye royal parties revenues throughout England.

"Dec. 25. There was no more notice taken of Christmas day in churches. I went to London, where Dr. Wild preached the funeral sermon of preaching, this being the last day, after which Cromwell's proclamation was to take place, that none of the Church of England should dare either to preach or administer sacraments, teach schoole, &c., on pain of imprisonment or exile. So this was ye mournfullest day that in my life I had seen, or ye Church of England herself since ye Reformation; to the great rejoicing of both Papist and Presbyter. So pathetic was his discourse that it drew many teares from the auditory. Myself, wife, and some of our family receiv'd ye communion; God make me thankfull who hath hitherto provided for us the food of our soules as well as bodies. Lord Jesus pity our distress'd Church, and bring back the captivity of Sion.

"1656, Aug. 3. I went to London to receive the B. Sacrament, the first time the Church of England was reduced to a chamber and conventicle, so sharp was the persecution. The parish churches were filled with sectaries of all sorts, blasphemous and ignorant mechanics usurping the pulpits every where. Dr. Wild preach'd in a private house in Fleet-streete, where we had a greate meeting of zealous Christians, who were generally much more devout and religious than in our greatest prosperity.

"Dec. 25. I went to London to receive the B. Communion this holy festival, at Dr. Wild's lodgings, where I rejoiced to find so full an assem-

The Primate appears at this time to have been impressed with the idea of his approaching dissolution; in his almanac he noted every year, opposite his birth-day, his age, and in January, 1655-6, he wrote, "Now aged 75 years, my years are full;" and a little below he wrote, in large letters, "Resignation." About the middle of February he left London for Ryegate, taking his last leave of his friends and relatives. On his arrival there he resumed the task of finishing his Chronologia Sacra with as much diligence as the weakness of his eyes permitted; but their failure impeded his progress so much, that he determined, if he lived, to employ an amanuensis. Dr. Parr went down to visit him in the following March, and preached before him. After the sermon the Archbishop, as was his usual practice, conferred with him in private, and said: "I thank you for your sermon, I am going out of the world, and I now desire, according to your text, 'To seek those things which are above, where Christ sitteth at the right hand of God,' and to be with him in Heaven; of which we ought not to doubt, if we can evidence to ourselves our conversion, true faith and charity, and live in the exercise of those Christian graces and virtues with perseverance; mortifying daily our inbred corruptions, renouncing all ungodliness and worldly lusts; and he that is arrived at this habitual frame and holy course of life is the blessed and happy man, and may rejoice in hope of a glorious eternity in the kingdom of Heaven, to receive that inheritance given by God to those that are sanctified." Dr. Parr left him without any apprehension that his life was so soon to terminate. On the 20th of March the Archbishop had spent all the earlier part of the day in his study, and when the light failed him, he visited a lady who was dying in the house, and occupied the time till supper in giving her advice, and preparing her for that journey which he himself was the first to take. At supper

bly of devout and sober Christians."—*Evelyn's Memoirs*, vol. i. p. 296–303.

Dr. Wild, who so faithfully kept up the performance of the English Liturgy during the persecution, had been chaplain to Archbishop Laud, and after the Restoration was made Bishop of Derry. He died in 1665.

he complained of violent pain in his hip, which was supposed to be a return of the sciatica with which he had before been afflicted. The next morning the pain affected his side, which it then appeared arose from pleuritic inflammation. Medical aid was ineffectual, and after several hours of acute pain his strength was so much reduced that it was manifest he could not long survive. He prepared for the awful termination like one to whom the thought of death was familiar, and having joined in prayer with the chaplain of the Countess, he addressed those around him, and exhorted them to prepare for death in the hour of their health and strength. He then took leave of the Countess of Peterborough, and, having expressed his grateful thanks to her for her continued acts of kindness to him, he exerted the last remains of his strength in giving her spiritual counsel, as the best return he could make: he then requested that he might be left alone to his private devotions. The last words he was heard to utter were: "O Lord, forgive me, especially my sins of omission." Soon after he sunk to rest, about one o'clock in the afternoon of the 21st of March, in the seventy-sixth year of his age and the thirty-fifth of his episcopate, having been four years Bishop of Meath, and thirty-one years Archbishop of Armagh, the hundredth bishop of that see from St. Patrick.

On opening the body a quantity of coagulated blood was found on the left side, and it appeared that the physician had mistaken the complaint, not perhaps expecting a pleurisy in a man so advanced in years. It was resolved by his relatives and friends to bury the Archbishop at Ryegate, and the Countess of Peterborough offered them her family vault. But before the arrangements could be completed an order was sent to Sir Timothy and Lady Tyrrell, by the Protector, forbidding them to bury the Archbishop any where but in Westminster Abbey, and announcing his intention of having a public funeral. His son-in-law and daughter were afraid to refuse, though well aware that the design of Cromwell was, not to honor the Archbishop, but to gain credit for himself with different parties for such a mark of respect to one so generally revered; and that he

never would pay all the expenses of the funeral, but throw the greater part of it upon them, who were very ill able to afford such an expenditure. Their apprehensions were but too well founded; Cromwell gave them only £200 out of the deodands in his almoner's hands, while the family were obliged to contribute three times that amount[s].

[s] By the kindness of Mr. Black, which I have before had occasion to acknowledge, I am able to insert the original order from the Records in the Public Record Office, Rolls House.

"Nicholas Barnard Doctor in Divinity cc[li] to be expended in and about the Funerall of Doct[r] Usher, late Arch Bishoppe of Armagh and Primate of Ireland.

"Oliver Lord Protector of the Cõmon-wealth of England Scotland and Ireland, and the dominions thereto belonging, To the Com[rs] of and for our Treasury Greeting, our Will and Pleasure is and wee doe hereby require and cõmaund you That out of such Our Treasure as is or shalbee remayning in the Receipt of our Excheq[r] you forthwith pay or cause to bee paid unto Nicholas Barnard Doctor in Divinity or his Assignes the sũme of Two Hundred Pounds of lawful money of England to bee expended in and about the defraying of the charges of the Funerall of James Usher Doctor in Divinity late Arch-Bishopp of Armagh and Primate of Ireland deceased, And for soe doeing theis Our Lres or the Inrollm[t] thereof shal bee a sufficient Warrant and discharge vnto you the said Com[rs] of our Treasury and to all others the Officers and Ministers of our said Excheq[r] to whom these presents shall appertaine. And Our Further will and pleasure is that the said sũme of Two hundred pounds bee soe paid without any Fees whatsoever for the same. Given vnd[r] Our Privy Seale at Our Pallace of Westminster the second day of Aprill in the yeare of Our Lord One thousand six hundred Fifty six.

"*Aprill* xj[th], 1656." "R. WHITHED.

Doctor Nicholas Barnard for the funerall charges of the Bishop of Armagh.

"Order is taken this 10th of Aprill, 1656. By virtue of his highnes lettres of privie seale dated the second day of the same that you deliver and pay of such of his hignes treãre as remaineth in your charge unto Nicholas Barnard doctor in divinitie the sume of 200[li] to be expended in and about ye defraying of the charges of the Funerall of James Usher doctor in divinitie late archbishopp of Armagh and primate of Ireland deceased. The said sũme to be paid without any Fees for y[e] same. And theise togeather with his or his assignes acquittance for the same shall be your discharge herein. CC[li]. Brage.

"T. WIDDRINGTON.

"*Aprill* 11*th*, 1656." "W. SYDENHAM.

"*Aprill* xj*th* 1656.

Barnard. "To Doctor Nicholas Barnard CC[li] for and towards the funerall charges of James Usher late Archbishop of Armagh. By privie seale dated the second of this instant. CC[li]

"BRAGE."

The arrangements were not completed till the 17th of April, when the corpse, on its approach to London, was met by the carriages of all the persons of rank then in town. The clergy of London and its vicinity attended the hearse from Somerset House to Westminster Abbey, where the concourse of people was so great, that a guard of soldiers was rendered necessary. Dr. Bernard, the Primate's former chaplain, preached the funeral sermon upon a very appropriate text: "And Samuel died, and all Israel were gathered together, and lamented him and buried him." After which the body was deposited in St. Erasmus' chapel, next to the tomb of Sir James Fullerton, his early instructor, and the funeral service was read[t] according to the Liturgy of the Church of England.

Primate Ussher was in person moderately tall and well made, preserving to the last an erect carriage, with brown hair and a sanguine complexion. His features[u] expressed gravity and benevolence combined, and his appearance commanded respect and reverence. He was of a strong and vigorous constitution, which enabled him to bear a life of incessant study. He rose at five o'clock in summer and at

[t] It does not appear how this could have been done after the prohibition issued by the Protector so short a time before. Of course it had his permission, which must have been extorted by the universal respect entertained for the memory of the Archbishop. On the same day Payne Fisher, Poet Laureat to Oliver Cromwell, went to Oxford, and delivered in Christ Church Hall an oration in praise of the Archbishop. It was afterwards published with a very pompous title: "Armachanus redivivus, vel in Aprilis 17, diem funeris Reverendiss. pientiss. eruditiss. Jacobus Usserii, Armachiæ Archiepiscopi Hyberniæque nuper Primatis Oratio anniversaria," &c.

[u] Dr. Parr says, "that the air of his face was so hard to hit, that though many pictures were taken of him yet he never saw but one like him, and that painted by Mr. Lilly, who was afterwards knighted." The painter is better known as Sir Peter Lely. This, no doubt, is the original of the well-known print in Houbraken's Heads of illustrious Persons. The engraving prefixed to this volume is taken from a painting preserved in Trinity College as an original portrait. It bears the date of 1654, and has a strong resemblance to the picture by Sir Peter Lely. Some good judges have supposed it a copy by one of his pupils, but from the date it would appear much more probable that the Archbishop sat for the portrait, and that it was the last ever taken of him."

six in winter, was remarkably simple and temperate in his manner of living, though, while his income permitted, he supported with hospitality and splendor the dignity of his high station. His manners were very courteous and affable, free from every appearance of pride or ostentation. His temper was sweet and placable, though he could rebuke with severity when he thought the occasion required it. A passage from Erasmus's panegyric upon St. Augustin has been not inaptly applied[v] to the Archbishop: "Aderat[w] admiranda quædam animi lenitas, quam Paulus vocat μακροθυμίαν, atque adeo mansuetudo quædam invincibilis; hanc Petrus appellat πραΰτητα, quam Plato putat non ita frequenter deprehendi in his, quibus contigit acrius ingenium. Ingenii felicitas prorsus erat incomparabilis, sive spectes acumen vel obscurissima facillime penetrandi, sive capacis memoriæ fidem, sive vim quandam mentis indefatigabilem. Ad docendum semper erat paratus, non aliter quam avidus negociator ad lucrum."

I have already quoted[x] the character given of the Primate by Bishop Burnet, and I can do little more than repeat my opinion of its correctness. The incidents related in the life of the Primate prove that meekness[y] and cheer-

[v] Dr. Bernard carries the parallel between St. Augustine and Archbishop Ussher to a number of particulars, even to their both dying in the seventy-sixth year of their ages. He seems annoyed that there was a difference of fifteen years in the time of their being preachers of the Gospel.

[w] Præf. in Augustinum. Erasmi Op. tom. 3, pag. 1246.

[x] See above, pag. 120.

[y] Mr. Butler makes a strange mistake with respect to the Archbishop. He says: "A fairer, a more learned, or a more honorable name than that of Archbishop Usher the Church of England cannot produce; yet did this venerable man, with a file of musketeers, enter the Catholic Chapel in Cork-street, Dublin, during the celebration of divine service, seize the priest in his vestments, and hew down the crucifix."—*Book of the R. C. Church*, pag. 302. The narrative to which this alludes has been given before, pag. 105, but Archbishop Ussher had no part in the transaction.

Mr. Butler relates another story more in keeping with the character of the Archbishop, but I know not on what authority. He says that the Archbishop, "being wrecked on a desolate part of the Irish coast, applied to a clergyman for relief, and stated, without mentioning his name or rank, his own sacred profession. The clergyman rudely questioned it,

fulness, united with fervent devotion, were the distinguishing features of his mind. A saying is recorded of him, which strongly corroborates this view of his character: "If good people would but make goodness agreeable, and smile instead of frowning in their virtue, how many they would win to the good cause." "If," says Dr. Parr, "he perceived any, whom he accounted truly religious, sad and melancholy, he would often ask them why they were so, and if anything really troubled them; if not, he would proceed thus: 'If you have entirely devoted yourselves to the service of God, what reason have you to be melancholy, when (if you will seriously consider) none have more cause to be cheerful, than those who lead a holy and a virtuous life; by this your dejection you may bring an evil report upon religion, for people seeing you always sad, will be apt to think tis that occasions it; and that you serve a hard master whose yoke is heavy and commands grievous, which will deter others and scare them from the ways of piety and virtue, which you ought by no means to do, for sincere Christians may and ought to rejoice and to show themselves cheerful; whereas the vicious and wicked have the greatest reason to be sad:' and as he advised others so he himself was always of an even, cheerful temper, seldom troubled or discomposed[z]." While he was ever ready to urge upon those

and told him peevishly, he doubted whether he knew the number of the commandments. 'Indeed I do,' replied the Archbishop meekly, 'there are eleven.' 'Eleven,' said the clergyman, 'tell me the eleventh and I will assist you.' 'Obey the eleventh,' said the Archbishop, 'and you certainly will. A new commandment I give unto you, that you love one another.'"—*Ibid.* pag. 314. It does not appear that the Archbishop was ever shipwrecked.

[z] Yet Dr. Parr mentions an instance of weakness in the Archbishop, which we could scarcely think credible, but which strongly marks the fanatical spirit of the times: "Amongst many of those advices which he gave to those who came to him for spiritual counsel, one was concerning afflictions as a necessary mark of being a child of God, which some might have gathered out of certain unwary passages of books, and which he himself had met with in his youth, and which wrought upon him so much that he earnestly prayed God to deal with him that way, and he had his request. And he told me from that time he was not without various afflictions through the whole course of his life; and, therefore, he advised that no Christian should tempt God to show such a sign for a mark of his paternal love, but to wait and be prepared for them, and patient under them,

who came within his observation the duty of diligence in their respective vocations, and the pernicious effects of idleness upon the individual himself and all around him, setting himself an illustrious example of the most devoted application, yet he never exhibited any moroseness or severity in checking innocent recreations; on the contrary he recommended their moderate use as necessary to unbend the mind and keep it from melancholy or too deep attention to business. As for his own recreations, to quote the words of his chaplain and constant companion, "walking was his greatest delight, and at spare times he loved pleasant conversation and innocent mirth, himself often telling stories, or relating the wise or witty sayings of other men, or such things that had occurred to his own observation; so that his company was always agreeable, and for the most part instructive; but still he would conform himself to the genius and improvements of those he conversed with; for as with scholars he would discourse of matters of learning, so could he condescend to those of meaner capacities. He could not endure that any should ridicule either Scripture or religion, or dwell upon any man's private faults or calamities, and above all things he could not suffer obscene communication or swearing; he knew it displeased God, and therefore it extremely offended him; and where he could not make the persons desist from it, he would presently leave the place and their company: and when he could not with decency or good manners go away, and though he was always very uneasy in such conversations, yet he did not always express his abhorrence of it in words, nor reprove these persons, when he considered it might do more harm than good, but would then hold his peace, waiting for an opportunity to do it with gentleness, and by way of advice, when the persons concerned might happily be convinced he did it purely for

and to consider the intention of them, so as to be the better for them, when they are inflicted; and by no means to judge of a man's spiritual state either by or without afflictions, for they are fallible evidences in spiritual matters; but that we should look after a real and sincere conversion and internal holiness, which indeed is the only true character and evidence of a state of salvation."—*Parr's Life*, pag. 90.

their good, and not in reproach to them: and I remember once when there had happened some discourse at table from persons of quality, that did not please him; he said nothing then, seeming not to hear them; but after dinner when I waited on him to his chamber, he looked very melancholy, which I taking notice of, and asking him if I might know the cause: 'It is a sad thing (said he) to be forced to put one's foot under another's table, and not only to have all sorts of company put upon him, but also to be obliged to hear their follies, and neither be able to quit their company, nor to reprove their intemperate speeches.'"

The Primate set an example in his own family of the strictest regularity and devotion. He had prayers four times a day; at six in the morning and eight in the evening, and the full service in his chapel before dinner and supper, at which times he was always present. This would be sufficient answer to the charges brought against him of undervaluing the Liturgy of the Church of England. These charges seemed to have pressed heavily upon his mind, and in his memorandum-book was found the following declaration, written only two months before his death:

"*Jan.* 16, 1655.

"Of the Book of Common Prayer I have always had a reverend and high esteem; and therefore that at any time I should say it was an idol, is a shameless and most abominable untruth.

"J. A."

At an earlier period he wrote a letter to the clergy of Carlisle, when he was unable to visit them, in which he charged them to use the Book of Common Prayer and the public Catechism in their churches.

His attention also to the discipline[a] of the Church seems

[a] Mr. Simeon states in the Memoirs of his Life, that he was informed Archbishop Ussher had preached in the Kirk of Scotland. In answer to this it is sufficient to say, that the Archbishop never was in Scotland, and could not, therefore, have availed himself of Mr. Simeon's excuse, "that he was acting in accordance with the established religion." Mr. Simeon adds: "He knows some very high churchmen had done so." It is unfortunate he did not mention their names, that we might know what were his ideas of a high churchman.

to have been equally strict. In addition to the fact[b] that he constantly wore his episcopal habit in Church, and made his chaplain wear his surplice in administering the communion, and in preaching, Dr. Bernard mentions[c] that while the Primate continued at Drogheda, there were not any Protestant inhabitants who scrupled at the cross in baptism, and kneeling at the Communion, or the like, but in all things conformed to what they saw was approved by him. In the minute account which, fortunately for the Archbishop's character, his puritanical chaplain has given of the proceedings at Drogheda, a curious proof is afforded of the extent to which the clergy in Ireland had been induced to adopt the practices of the Dissenters: one of the circumstances which Dr. Bernard considers as deserving of notice in the Archbishop is, that he never wore his hat in Church.

The Archbishop was a constant and impressive preacher, "his very voice and gesture were moving and persuasive, yet without any affectation, so that his preaching was with authority, 'and not with enticing words of human wisdom, but in demonstration of the Spirit and with power.'" He acquired such fluency and command of words, that for many years he never committed more to writing than the heads of his sermons; when he had well considered the subject, he trusted the rest to his memory, and was not careful of the polish or exactness of his style. Hence he was most unwilling that any of his sermons should be published[d], except the two which he prepared carefully and printed himself. Dr. Parr thus describes the plan of his popular sermons: "As he was an excellent textuary so it was his custom to run through all the parallel places that concerned the sub-

[b] See before, p. 147. [c] Clavi trabales, pag. 58.

[d] It seems to have been the practice with many persons to take down his sermons. A volume was printed, soon after his death, of the sermons preached at Oxford in 1640. These I have reluctantly published among his works, and also a few out of a larger collection preserved in MS. in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford. Many others are extant in different places. I have lately seen six sermons on the six witnesses of St. John. They are practical sermons not at all relating to the controversy as to the genuineness of the passage.

ject on which he treated, and paraphrase and illustrate them as they referred to each other, and their particular contexts; he himself, as he past on, turning his Bible[e] from place to place, and giving his auditory time to do the like: whereby as he rendered his preaching extreme easie to himself, so it became no less beneficial to his auditors, acquainting them with the holy Scriptures, and enabling them to recur to the proofs he cited, by which the memory was very much helped to recover the series of what was discoursed upon from them: He never cared to tire his auditory with the length[f] of his sermon, knowing well, that as the satisfaction in hearing decreases, so does the attention also, and people instead of minding what is said, only listen when there is like to be an end."

The directions as to preaching which the Archbishop gave to ministers on their ordination are still extant, and

[e] I regret that this disagreeable, and now very common, practice, can plead such authority in its support, But I trust that, if any are inclined to follow the Archbishop's example in one part, they will in all, and more particularly attend to the directions he has given. The Archbishop appears carefully to have arranged the whole plan of his discourse, indeed, as Dr. Parr remarks, to trust to his memory for the delivery. If those who attempt in our days to preach without a written sermon would devote sufficient time to the preparation, less mischief would arise from the practice, and the congregation would escape the dull repetitions and incoherent rhapsodies which are unhappily so prevalent in modern sermons.

[f] An anecdote confirmatory of this is recorded of the Archbishop. About a year before he died, when he had given up preaching, he was persuaded by the Countess of Peterborough to preach in the parish church, that of St. Martin. Having preached for some time he looked at the hour-glass (then, and for many years after, always placed in the pulpit), and from the weakness of his sight imagining that it was out, he concluded by telling his auditory that the time was past, and he would leave the remainder of his discourse to another opportunity, if God would enable him again to address them. The congregation, perceiving the mistake, and fearful of never having an opportunity to hear him again, made signs to the reader to inform him that the glass was not out, and that they requested him to go on; the Archbishop received the communication very kindly, and, resuming his discourse, concluded with an exhortation which lasted for half an hour, and powerfully affected the auditory. They were so moved, says Dr. Parr, that none went out of the church until he had done his sermon; from which we may conclude that it was not an unfrequent practice for persons, as soon as they were tired of the sermon, to leave the church.

deserve to be made known; as, if they were followed, they would counteract many of the evils of extempore preaching:

"I. Read and study the Scriptures carefully, wherein is the best learning, and only infallible truth: they can furnish you with the best materials for your sermons, the only rules of faith and practice, the most powerful motives to persuade and convince the conscience, and the strongest arguments to confute all errors, heresies, and schisms: therefore, be sure let all your sermons be congrous to them, and to this end it is expedient that you understand them, as well in the originals as in the translations.

"II. Take not hastily up other men's opinions without due trial, nor vent your own conceits, but compare them first with the analogy of faith, and rules of holiness recorded in the Scriptures, which are the proper tests of all opinions and doctrines.

"III. Meddle with controversies and doubtful points as little as may be in your popular preaching, lest you puzzle your hearers, or engage them in wrangling disputations, and so hinder their conversion, which is the mean design of preaching.

"IV. Insist most on those points that tend to affect sound belief, sincere love to God, repentance for sin, and that may persuade to holiness of life: press these things home to the conscience of your hearers, as of absolute necessity, leaving no gap for evasions, but bind them as close as may be to their duty; and as you ought to preach sound and orthodox doctrine, so ought you to deliver God's message as near as may be in God's words, that is, in such as are plain and intelligible, that the meanest of your auditors may understand; to which end it is necessary to back all practical precepts and doctrines with apt proofs from the holy Scriptures; avoiding all exotic phrases, scholastic terms, unnecessary quotations of authors, and forced rhetorical figures, since it is not difficult to make easy things appear hard, but to render hard things easy is the hardest part of a good orator as well as preacher.

"V. Get your hearts sincerely affected with the things you persuade others to embrace, that so you may preach experimentally, and your hearers perceive that you are in good earnest, and press nothing upon them but what may tend to their advantage and which yourself would venture your own salvation on.

"VI. Study and consider well the subjects you intend to preach on, before you come into the pulpit, and then words will readily offer themselves, yet think what you are about to say before you speak, avoiding all uncouth, phantastical words or phrases, or nauseous, indecent, or ridiculous expressions, which will quickly bring preaching into contempt, and make your sermons and persons the subject of sport and merriment.

"VII. Dissemble not the truth of God in any case, nor comply with the lusts of men, or give any countenance to sin by word or deed.

"VIII. But above all you must never forget to order your own conversation as becomes the Gospel, that so you may teach by example as well as precept, and that you may appear a good divine everywhere, as well as in the pulpit, for a minister's life and conversation is more heeded than his doctrine.

"IX. Yet after all this take heed you be not puffed up with spiritual pride of your own virtues; nor with a vain conceit of your parts or abilities, nor yet be transported with the applause of men, nor dejected or discouraged with the scoffs or frowns of the wicked and profane."

In diligence as a preacher he set a very remarkable example, and declared that none of his labors administered to him so much comfort in his old age as that, since he had been called to the ministry, he had endeavoured to discharge the great duty of preaching the Gospel; while, as I have already mentioned[s], he made the motto of his episcopal seal, "Væ mihi si non evangelizavero." The Archbishop has been charged with placing this duty too high, and showing a marked contempt for the Liturgy of the Church.

[s] See pag. 283.

This calumny was circulated in a very offensive manner[h] during his life, and ought to have been sufficiently refuted by the practice observed in his family, as I have already stated. Its prevalence must be traced to the mildness of his disposition, which shrunk from enforcing the strict discipline of the Church, and to his connexion with many who dissented widely from the Church of Ireland. However he does not appear in the least degree to have countenanced those latitudinarian notions, which were entertained by several contemporaries, who held bishoprics in the north of Ireland, while their practice tended to subvert the Church they were commissioned to defend. I cannot find any instance ever charged upon him of having irregularly conferred orders, or listened to the scruples of those within his diocese who wished to enjoy the benefices without performing the duties of a minister of the Church,—practices which were not unusual at that time.

Dr. Parr states that he was particularly careful in his ordinations, and always observed St. Paul's injunction, "Lay hands suddenly on no man." Far from encouraging the lowest of the people to become preachers in the congregation, he never was known to ordain any person who was not sufficiently qualified in point of learning, except one, and the case of that individual will prove how much his care exceeded that of other bishops in those strange times. The narrative is thus given by Dr. Parr: "There was a certain English mechanick living in the Lord Primate's diocess, who constantly frequented the public service of the Church, and attained a competent knowledge of the Scriptures, and gave himself to read what works of practical divinity he could get, and was reputed among his neighbours and Protestants thereabouts a very honest and pious man; this person applyed to the Lord Primate, and told him that he had an earnest desire to be admitted to the ministry; but the Bishop refused him, advising him to go home and follow his calling, and pray to God to remove this temptation; yet after some time he returns again, re-

[h] See pag. 283.

newing his request, saying he could not be at rest in his mind, but that his desires towards that calling increased more and more; whereupon the Lord Primate discoursed him, and found upon examination that he gave a very good account of his faith and knowledge in all the main points of religion. Then the Bishop questioned him farther, if he could speak Irish, for if not his preaching would be of little use in a country where the greatest part of the people were Irish, that understood no English. The man replyed, that indeed he could not speak Irish, but if his Lordship thought fit, he would endeavour to learn it, which he bid him do, and as soon as he had attained the language to come again, which he did about a twelvemonth after, telling my Lord that he could now express himself tolerably well in Irish, and therefore desired ordination; whereupon the Lord Primate finding, upon examination, that he spake truth, ordained him accordingly, being satisfied that such an ordinary man was able to do more good, than if he had Latin without any Irish at all, nor was the Bishop deceived in his expectation, for this man, as soon as he had a cure, employed his talent diligently and faithfully, and proved very successful in converting many of the Irish Papists to our Church, and continued labouring in that work, until the rebellion and massacre, wherein he hardly escaped with life."

Much controversy has arisen as to the Primate's theological opinions[1]. On one point, however, all are agreed, that in

[1] Dr. Heylin charged the Archbishop with differing from the Church of England in six points: the divine authority of the Christian sabbath; the opinion that Bishops and Presbyters differ in degree only, not in order; the limitation of redemption to the elect; the real presence in the Holy Communion; the power of absolution; and the descent into hell. The Archbishop's grandson, Mr. James Tyrrel, published an answer to these charges in the form of an Appendix to Dr. Parr's life. I have reprinted this tract in the Appendix, No. VII., not that I agree with all the views taken by the writer, but because I thought that the defence of the Archbishop by so near a relative ought to be preserved. I have, as the subjects occurred, remarked upon these several opinions, and shall not discuss them again. Dr. Aikin, by a strange blunder, quotes the Appendix as if written by Dr. Parr, though he states that he published it as the "vindication of a near relation of the Lord Primate."

the earlier part of his life he had held rigidly the opinions of Calvin. Of this one fact ought to be quite sufficient evidence, namely, his introduction of the Lambeth Articles into the Articles of the Church of Ireland. The point at issue is whether the Archbishop found reason, at a subsequent period, to change these opinions. That he had done so we might argue from the friendship which subsisted between him and Archbishop Laud, and from the high terms in which he spoke of that unfortunate Prelate. A rigid Calvinist could not honestly have spoken in such terms of Laud's promotion to the archbishopric of Canterbury, as are to be found in Archbishop Ussher's letter[j], and still less would he have exerted all his influence to procure the appointment of Chancellor to the University of Dublin for one whose religious opinions he must have so strongly disapproved. The change of his opinions at a later period of his life[k] is placed beyond all doubt by the following letter of Dr. Hammond:

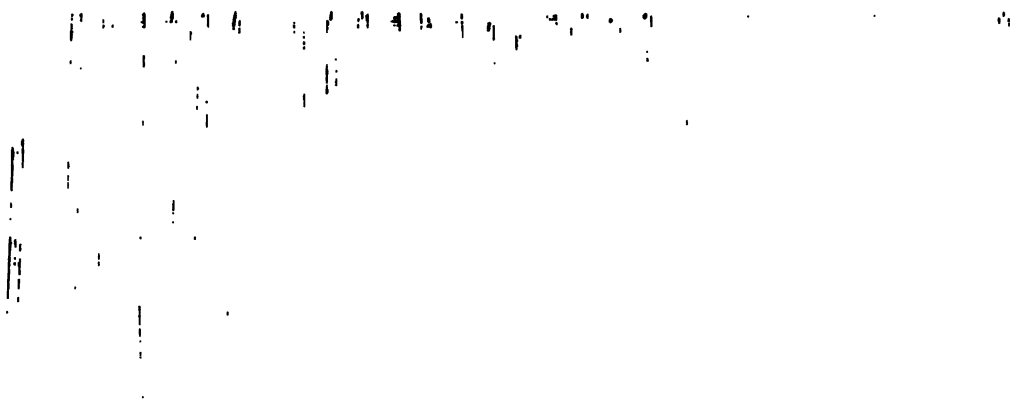
"To[l] your queries all that I have to return is, first, that the Bishop (Ussher) did for many years acknowledge uni-

[j] See Letter 190. Works, vol. 15. pag. 571.

[k] It would appear that even at a much earlier period of his life he was not an advocate for the extreme opinions which have been attributed to him. In the sermon preached before the King, in 1624, is the following passage: "There is an error in heart as well as in brain, and a kind of ignorance arising from the will as well as from the mind. And therefore, in the Epistle to the Hebrews, all sins are termed ἀγνοήματα, ignorances, and sinners ἀγνοοῦντες καὶ πλανώμενοι, ignorant and erring persons; because however, in general, the understanding may be informed rightly, yet when particular actions come to be resolved upon, men's perverse wills and inordinate affections cloud their minds and lead them out of the way. That, therefore, is to be accounted sound knowledge which sinketh from the brain into the heart, and from thence breaketh forth into action, setting head, heart, hand, and all at work: and so much only must thou reckon thyself to know in Christianity, as thou art able to make use of in practice. For, as St. James saith of faith, 'show me thy faith by thy works;' so doth he in like manner of knowledge: 'Who is a wise man and endued with knowledge amongst you? let him show out of a good conversation his works with meekness and wisdom.' And St. John much to the same purpose: 'Hereby do we know that we know him, if we keep his commandments. He that saith I know him and keepeth not his commandments, is a liar and the truth is not in him.'"—*Works*, vol. ii. pag. 502, 503.

[l] See Nineteen Letters of the Rev. Henry Hammond, D. D., now first published from the originals by Francis Peck, M. A., London, 1739.

versal redemption, but that with a distinction of *non ex æquo pro omnibus*, which puts me in mind of the words of Holy Maximus in his Κεφ. περὶ ἀγάπης, that Χριστὸς ὑπὲρ πάντων ἐξ ἴσου, which last words (when I read them long since) I could not guess why they were added, till I saw there was somebody that granted the ἀπέθανεν ὑπὲρ πάντων, but denied the ἐξ ἴσου. Secondly, that a little before his leaving London (I was told it by some that heard him about this time two years) at St. Peter's Paul-wharf, as also in several other places, he preached a sermon, which himself called a soul-saving sermon, on Rom. vii. 30, part of the verse, 'whom he called, them be justified,' in which he earnestly pressed the sincerity of God's universal call to *every one* of *all* sinners, to whom the Gospel was preached; pressing throughout all his sermon the universal free invitation of all by God. Apoc. xxii. 17. 'Whosoever will, let him take the water of life freely.' Isaiah lv. 1, 7. 'Ho, every one that thirsteth, come ye to the waters. Let the wicked forsake his way and the unrighteous man his thoughts, and let him return unto the Lord, and he will have mercy upon him; and to our God, for he will abundantly pardon:' adding that without this made good, all preaching to convert sinners as yet in their sins from the evil of their ways, would want a firm foundation. Thirdly, that a learned divine going after this to him, and taking rise from these words of his, 'that God intended truly that all whom he called by the word to repent and believe, might certainly, if they would, and God truly would they should come and repent,' &c. to ask, 'Can they all will? Doth God with his word give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent if they will; and that they certainly can will?' He answered: 'Yes they all can will, and that so many will not, 'tis because, as I then taught, they resist God's grace;' alleging Acts, vii. 51, 'Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, ye do always resist the Holy Ghost; as your fathers did, so do ye.' This and much more he then declared, and in fine concluded with these words, 'Bishop Overall was in the right, and I am of his mind.'



but was wholly of Bishop Overall's opinions. All which I took the more notice of, because he was generally conceived to be of another judgment. And all this will be attested by

"BRIAN WALTON."

Part of a letter from Mr. Gunning to Dr. Pierce:

"Because you desire me to speak my knowledge of my Lord Primate's judgment concerning your question, as in justice to the truth and to the honour of his Grace, and for that you are threatened (as I hear) by some, that they will in print testify that the contrary to your thesis was my Lord Primate's judgment, in the last years also of his life; I shall truly, therefore, give you his discourse with me (as much as tends to this purpose), and my memory of his sermon.

"At a sermon which my Lord Primate preacht at St. Peter's Pauls wharfe, the last that he intended to preach there (as it was said) I was an auditor; having heard that he had preached that sermon in more places than one before, and did himself profess to think it a sermon (as indeed it was) containing such necessary truths, as without which all preachings and sermons would be unfruitful. It was on Rom. viii. 30 (part of the verse), in which sermon he very earnestly pressed the sincerity of God's universal call to every one of all sinners, to whom the Gospel was preached; alleging and pressing almost throughout his sermon the universal pre-invitation of all by God throughout the Scriptures. As that of Apoc. xxii. 17, 'Whosoever will let him take the water of life freely:' and so that of Esai, lv. 1, 7; and added with much godly zeal, that without this being made good, all preaching to convert sinners (as yet in their sins) from the evil of their ways would want a firm foundation. This was his main scope in that sermon. I went to him in one of the week days following the Lord's day, and gave him my thanks. And in the process of our discourse, which was wholly spent upon that subject (much too long to be told at large) his Grace expressed his judgment in these following results. That God, together with his word

preached, doth give internal grace to all that are called by it, that they may repent and be converted if they will, yea they all can will. And that so many will not, it is because they resist God's grace according to that of Acts, vii. 51, 'Ye stiffnecked and uncircumcised in heart and ears, yee do always resist the Holy Ghost.' He farther said, that God gives to all, who are called, *posse non resistere*, and distinctly concluded in these words: 'Bishop Overall was in the right and I am of his mind.' This will be attested by

"PETER GUNNING."

"The third certificate I received was at first by word of mouth, and afterwards by writing in these following words:

"'Calling to mind that you questioned me whether my Lord Primate said to me that Christ dyed for all *intentionally*, I have thought fit to say further, that I did answer you affirmatively, not because I do remember that he used that word, but because I am satisfied he could mean no otherwise. The sufficience of his death not signifying that which either of us understood to be in question. And that sufficience of grace, which Dr. Ward maintained (with my Lord Primate's approbation) that the Gospel bringeth to all that hear it preached, argueth the intent of his death (and not only the value of it) being given in consideration of it. Thus much as by a witness will be deposed by

"'H. THORNDIKE.'"

These declarations appear sufficiently decisive as to the change of opinion in the Archbishop. It should be remembered that the three individuals were not ordinary persons, but men of considerable talents and extended information, well trained in the controversy, and all prepossessed with the notion, that the opinions of the Archbishop were very different from what they found them to be. They must have, therefore, studied every word with great care, and not have been deceived by any preconceived notions, which would make them distort what they heard into an agreement with them. They must have given the interpretation they

did to the Archbishop's words with great hesitation, and not have ventured to put forward the strong and decisive declarations which they have recorded, unless all doubt had been removed by irresistible conviction. Dr. Bernard has of course endeavoured to invalidate the force of these testimonies, but the weakness of his attempt only corroborates more strongly the statement. The only answer he can give is by stating that the Archbishop's objections extended to the supralapsarian doctrine, but not to the sublapsarian, and by interpreting his dissent from Geneva as a dissent from Beza, not from Calvin.

A similar testimony can be procured from a very different quarter. Calamy, in his Abridgment of Baxter's life, gives the following narrative: "While[n] he (Baxter) continued there, he became acquainted with the pious and learned Archbishop Ussher, who then liv'd at the Earl of Peterborough's in Martin's-lane: and their mutual visits and interviews were frequent. There having been a difference between Dr. Kendall and Mr. Baxter about the extent of redemption, they by agreement met at the Archbishop's lodgings, leaving it to him to arbitrate between them: who freely declared himself for the doctrine of universal redemption, and own'd that he was the person who brought both Bishop Davenant and Dr. Preston to acknowledge it. Having given his judgment he perswaded both to forbear a farther prosecution of the controversie, which they readily promis'd."

It seems to have been an opinion entertained by many admirers of the Primate, and prominently put forward by Dr. Bernard in several parts of his narrative, that he was inspired with a spirit of prophecy. I have already alluded to the well-known application of a prophecy of the Jewish Church to the rebellion in Ireland. Others that have been put forward appear to have no better claim to the character of prophecy. The fact seems to be, that the Primate, deeply impressed with the tragic scenes and violent changes which he had lived to witness, was accustomed to speak with con-

[n] Calamy's Abridgment of Baxter's Life, pag. 684. ed. 1702.

siderable confidence of still greater impending evils, and among these a temporary triumph of Popery seems to have haunted most strongly his imagination°. Baxter, relating

° In the Biographia Britannica the following narrative is given:

"That year wherein he died, being asked by a gentleman what his present apprehensions were of a very great persecution that would fall upon the Church of Christ in these nations of England, Scotland, and Ireland (concerning which he had ever confidently spoken many years past, when we were in the fullest peace and settlement), whether he did not believe these sad times to be passed, or whether yet to come? He told me they were yet to come, and that he did as confidently expect them as ever he had done that they would fall upon ourselves the Protestant churches in Europe. I answered, I hoped they might have been past as to this nation, since that I thought, though we in them had been punished less than our sins deserved, and that the wars had left much less devastation than by that means had been brought upon other countries, yet many a house, fair and great, had been left without inhabitants; many a family had been impoverished, and many thousand lives lost in that war; that Ireland and Scotland had drunk deep of the cup of God's anger to the overthrow of Government, and almost utter destruction of a great part of those nations. He, turning to me, and fixing his eyes with that ireful look which he used to have when he spake God's words and not his own, and the power of God upon him to constrain him so to do, 'Fool not yourself with such hopes, for I tell you all that you have yet seen have been but the beginning of sorrows to what is yet to come upon the Protestant churches of Christ, which shall ere long fall under sharper persecution than hath ever yet been upon them. And therefore,' said he to me, 'look you be not found in the outer court, but a worshipper in the temple before the altar; for Christ will measure all that profess his name, and call themselves his people; and the outward worshippers he will leave to be trodden down by the Gentiles.

"'The outward court (said he) is the formal Christians, whose religion stands in performing the outside duties of Christianity, without having an inward life and power of faith and love uniting them to Christ; these God will leave to be trodden down and swept away by the Gentiles. But the worshippers within the temple and before the altar are those who worship God in spirit and in truth; whose souls are made his temples, where he is honored and adored in the most inward thoughts they have, and who sacrifice their lusts and foul affections in their own wills to him. God will hide them in the hollow of his hand and under the shadow of his wings. And that will be one great difference between the last and other preceding persecutions. In them the most eminent and spiritual ministers were, first or last, violently fallen upon; but in this last these will be preferred by God, as a seed of that glory that shall immediately fall to the Church as soon as these storms are over; for as they will be the sharpest, so they will be but short, and shall take away but the gross hypocrites and formalists, while the true spiritual believers shall be preserved till the calamity be past.'

a conversation with the Primate, says: "I have heard of his prediction that Popery would be restored again in England for a short time, and then fall for ever: and asking

"I then asked him by what instruments this great trial would be brought on? He answered, 'by the Papists.' I replied, 'that they were less countenanced and less in number in these nations, and the hearts of the people were more set against them, than ever since the Reformation.' He answered, 'that it would be by their hands, and in the way of a sudden massacre, and that the now Pope would be the instrument of it.'

"And these things he spoke with the assurance and ireful look that I have observed him to speak with, when I have heard him myself predict things very unlikely in human appearance to come, which I myself had then lived to see happen according to his predictions; which made me give more attention to what he uttered.

"And he then added, that the Papists were in his opinion the Gentiles spoken of in Rev. ii., to whom the outward court should be left, that they may tread it under foot, they having received the Gentile worship in their adoring images and saints departed, and taken to themselves many mediators. 'And this,' said he, 'is now designing among them, and therefore look you be ready.'

"This was the substance, and for the greatest part (I think) the words themselves, which that holy man spake to me."

It is then stated that these prophecies were repeated to his daughter, and the following letter is given from her, in answer to inquiries upon the subject:

"Sir,—I cannot speak so punctually to the particulars of your paper, but much of it I have heard him speak with great assurance in the beginning of summer, before the rebellion in Ireland. Sir Thomas Barrington's lady was inquiring his opinion of the interpreters of the Revelations and of the prophecies of Daniel; she was desirous to hear whither the last bitter dregs would be poured out upon the world. I can never forget with what trouble he expressed his answer, viz., That he could not see but that God intended them on the northern parts. 'And,' said he, 'I besought God in mercy to divert a share of the time from our dominions, and that they may not begin with poor Ireland. But we must all (said he) taste of them.' I am certain Mrs. Barrington, who is yet living, was present at this discourse as well as myself, when my father, among other admonitions, was pleased to give me his commands to be prepared for times of persecution: for he feared wicked people would for a time prevail, and that the persecution would be sharp, but would not last long. The last day that I saw my dear father he told me that I should see in a short time London burnt; at which when I was troubled; 'Yes,' says he, 'it will be burnt to a cinder' (that was his expression): 'How can we expect other than judgment upon the seat of rebellion and sin, and miseries that have proceeded from thence.' He was also confident of his Majesty's return within five years or less. He said, 'it will

him of it, he pretended to me no prophetical revelation for it to himself, but only his judgment of the sense of the Apocalypse."

Of the Primate as a man of learning it is almost unnecessary to speak; the works which he has published sufficiently attest the stupendous extent of his information[P], and

be in a short time; you will live to see it, but I shall not:' and said, 'my thoughts and dreams are often troubled by being carried by violence into a great church.' These were his last discourses to her who is

"Your faithful Servant,

"E. TYRREL."

I cannot discover any evidence for the authenticity of this letter. The preceding part is said to be quoted from a Manuscript in the Musæum Thoresbianum, and has been nearly published in a pamphlet, "Bishop Usher's second prophesie, which was delivered to his daughter on his sick bed, wherein is contained divers prophetick sayings for the years 1680, 1681, 1682, 1683, 1684, which were by him predicted for the said years." This is generally printed at the end of another tract, with the title "Strange and remarkable Prophecies and Predictions of the holy, learned, and excellent James Usher, late Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Lord Primate of Ireland." London, 1678.

If the author of these tracts had been endeavouring to prove by his publication that the Archbishop had not the gift of prophecy, he could not have been more successful.

P Quis non mirabitur stupendam ejus industriam ac plane incredibilem; qui libros studiorum suorum instrumenta undecunque terrarum diligenter conquisivit? Primus ille omnium ex Oriente per procuratores suos Pentateuchum Samaritanum Europæ intulit (uti testis est Seldenus in editionis consilio ante marmora sua Arundeliana) cujus tribus e Syria delatis exemplaribus Bodleianam, Leidensem et Cottonianam ditavit bibliothecas, quartum autem sibimet ipsi reservavit. Qui plures libros legit quam cæteri conspexerunt, plures autem conscripsit quam alius quivis, tot negotiis certe curisque districtus, vel legere unquam sustinuisset. Qui sæpius Evangelium prædicavit quam alii quidem plurimi, qui omnem suam vitam et operam in illo uno collocarunt; qui sæpius hostem diputando profligavit, quam reliqui conspexerunt. Quid porro memorem illud epistolare commercium, quod ille cum plurimis viris doctis quotidie fere exercebat, quo eruditionis vel conscientiæ nodos solveret? Quantum interim temporis in consulendis consolandisque aliis impertiebat? Quantum in excipiendis advenis? Siquidem in accessibus comes admodum erat et affabilis. Quantum in privatis precibus, quantum in domesticis quotidie impertiebat? Quod denique laboris in munere suo publico, ac ecclesiarum omnium rebus administrandis exantlabat? Quæ ego omnia dum mecum recolo, non possum certo quin exclamare (quid de Cæsare olim Cicero) O horribilem plane diligentiam.—*Dillingham in Vit. Usserii*, pag. 81. 82.

the skill with which he could make use of the treasures he possessed. His name became celebrated throughout Europe, and his services to the cause of literature, more particularly in the departments of history and chronology, have been acknowledged by all modern writers. The panegyric of Selden has been repeated from every part of Europe: "Jacobus[q] Usserius, Archiepiscopus Armachanus, vir summa pietate, judicio singulari, usque ad miraculum doctus et literis severioribus promovendis natus." Bishop Walton placed him[r] at the head of his literary benefactors, and consulted him on every difficult question which occurred. The Bishop says of him, "Consilium suum quando ipsum convenirem libenter impertivit, quo in multis me adjutum profiteor; haud inique tamen tulit, quo erat animi candore, si in quibusdam dissensum libere profiterer." It appears, however, from the critical treatises in the last volume of the Polyglot, and from the vindication of the whole work, that the editor most frequently bowed to the learning and judgment of the Pri-

[q] Prolegomen. ad Marmor. Arundel. Inscriptiones.

[r] The name of the Archbishop is signed to the recommendation of the work in the prospectus first put forth.

"Whereas there hath been presented unto us a draught of an edition of the Bible, in the original and other learned languages, with a proof of printed paper, wherein the same are, in several columns, represented to the reader's view at once, and that (as is suggested) according to better copies and editions than those of the Complut. Antwerp and Paris Bibles, besides sundry needful additions which are wanting in them, whereby the edition will become more perfect, and fitter for use than those formerly mentioned, and yet the price very much lessened, We whose names are here subscribed, having viewed and well considered the said design, and being desired to give our judgments and opinions thereof, do conceive, that both in regard of the said editions and copies, which are more exact and perfect than those followed in other Bibles; and of the various readings and additions mentioned in the said draught, as also of the method and order wherein the said languages are digested; this work will become more complete and perfect, and also more useful than any that hath been hitherto published in that kind; and that the printing thereof will conduce much to the glory of God and the public honour of our nation. And therefore we do heartily desire that it may receive all due encouragement from all whom it may concern.

"Ja. Armachanus.
"J. Selden."

mate, who contributed the various readings of sixteen manuscripts, which he had collated.

Nor was the assistance he gave to literary men confined to the eastern languages. He appears to have been most anxious about the study of northern antiquities, which lay buried in the Gothic and Saxon languages. The learned Abraham Whelock, Professor of Arabic and Saxon in the University of Cambridge, in the preface to the Saxon translation of Bede's History, acknowledges the encouragement he received from the Primate in carrying on his Saxon lectures at the University: and in his notes upon the Persian Gospels expresses his obligations for the information he obtained from the same eminent scholar, as to the Doxology of the Lord's Prayer found in an ancient Gothic version of the Gospels. Francis Junius, in publishing an ancient Saxon poem, supposed to be written by Cædmon, a monk, states that he was supplied with the manuscript by the Archbishop of Armagh; and he also published a very learned letter[a] from the Primate to himself, relating to the Gothic translation of the four Gospels, which he transcribed from the Codex Argenteus.

The Primate's ideas of what could be effected by human industry have been embodied in the answer to a request, that he would give directions in writing for the advancement of solid and useful learning, both sacred and profane. The Primate thought the object would be best attained,

1. By learned notes and illustrations of the Bible.
2. By considering and inquiring into the ancient councils and works of the Fathers.
3. By the orderly writing and digesting of ecclesiastical history.
4. By gathering together whatsoever may concern the state of the Jews from the destruction of Jerusalem to the present age.
5. By collecting of all the Greek and Roman histories, and digesting them into a body.

For the purpose of carrying out this gigantic undertaking,

[a] Works, vol. 16. pag. 189.

he proposed that the most learned men from the two English Universities should be presented to the prebends in the different cathedral churches, and enjoined to devote their time to the advancement of this great object. So early as the year 1626, he had addressed a letter to the University of Oxford, urging the revival[t] of the works of the ancient Fathers of the Church; from which the following extract is preserved by Dr. Parr: "The business of reviving the ancient Fathers works in Latin (so long projected and so many years followed by Dr. James) I do greatly approve, and judge it to be (as the times now are, and the books now printed at Cologne and elsewhere) most necessary, tending to the great honor of this famous university; the benefit of them that shall be imployed therein, and the great good of the Church: And if the heads of the university would be pleased, or might be intreated to incourage and employ some of their younger divines herein (whereof I see so great store, and some I have found very painful in another kind) I shall think myself greatly honored by this University (as I confess I have been very much already) if by my means they may be the rather encouraged to the performance of this great work." The proposal, unfortunately, was not carried into effect. The

[t] The constant advice of the Primate to young students was, not to confine themselves to epitomes, but to set themselves in earnest to read the ancient authors; to begin with the Fathers and peruse their works in chronological order, and carefully to peruse along with them the Church histories of the period, by which the student would understand the rise and progress of the various heresies, and the particular doctrines and ceremonies which prevailed or were introduced in each century. He dissuaded young divines from studying the writings of the schoolmen farther than was necessary for understanding the controversies with the Church of Rome, as their works were calculated only to puzzle, and tended to advance neither religion nor learning, being well described by Prudentius:

"Fidem minutis dissecant ambagibus
Ut quisque lingua est nequior:
Solvunt ligantque quæstionum vincula
Per syllogismos plectiles."

The Archbishop was particularly anxious that new terms should not be introduced into theological discussions; he always suspected those who changed the terms used by the ancient writers, and quoted the maxim, "Qui nova facit verba, nova gignit dogmata."

rewards of learning were swept away, and the prediction[u] of Bishop Hackett was fulfilled. A second time the cathedral establishments have been removed, no doubt from a better motive, but, it is to be feared, with dangerous consequences. The dangers of the Church are at this moment what they were when Archbishop Ussher made that appeal. The Church is now as then, placed between the two enemies, Romanism and ultra-Protestantism. Archbishop Ussher was too well versed in these controversies not to perceive that learning was the only human safeguard of the Church; a profound knowledge of the Scriptures in all their bearings; a ready acquaintance with history, sacred and profane; a thorough knowledge of antiquity. The great strength of Romanism is her appeal to antiquity, and it is only by such historical knowledge as Ussher possessed, that appeal is satisfactorily refuted. The errors of ultra-Protestantism lie in the opposite direction, but the same process is to be applied to their removal; the same application of profound and diversified learning. And where is this learning now to be procured? The cry has been successful against sinecures in the Church, and under that invidious name has swept away the rewards, the support of literary exertion; and can we expect that young men of eminent talents will sacrifice their hopes of advancement and the enjoyments of life, to study in their earlier, and to want and destitution in their more advanced years? It is much to be feared that the progress of events will soon prove that the Church requires more than the service of its parochial clergy, and that she will seek in vain for the faithful son to defend the faith once delivered to the saints, who has furnished himself with that panoply of learning, which freedom from bodily toil could alone enable him to prepare.

It had been the intention of Archbishop Ussher to bequeath his magnificent library, consisting of nearly ten thousand books and manuscripts, to Trinity College, Dub-

[u] Bishop Hackett said: "Upon the ruins of the reward of learning no structure can be raised up but ignorance; and upon the chaos of ignorance no structure can be built but profaneness and confusion."

lin, as a token of gratitude to the place where he had received his education. But the destruction of all his property, from the disastrous events of the time, obliged him to change his disposition of it, and leave it, as his only worldly possession, to his daughter, who had not received any fortune from him, and was the mother of several children. As soon as it was known that the library was to be disposed of, the King of Denmark and Cardinal Mazarin became competitors for the purchase, and a considerable sum was offered; but the Protector issued an arbitrary order to the executors[v] that they must not sell the books without his permission. At the suggestion of some public-minded individuals, the officers and soldiers of the victorious army in Ireland, emulating the generosity of their predecessors in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, subscribed £2200 in order to present the library to the institution for which it had been originally designed; and the executors were compelled to accept that sum, though much less than what had been previously offered. With the library were given all the Archbishop's MSS. which were not in his own handwriting, and a small but valuable collection of coins. When the books arrived in Ireland the Protector and his son refused to permit their being placed in Trinity College, but kept them in the Castle of Dublin, under the pretence of reserving them for the library of a new College or Hall, which they intended to erect in Dublin. During the confusion which followed the Protector's death, the precious collection was exposed to various depredations, and many books and most of the valuable manuscripts were stolen. On the accession of Charles II. the library became his property, and was presented by him to Trinity College, Dublin, where it remains, a valuable but small part of its

[v] We can scarcely conceive a more unjustifiable act of tyranny than this; it was an act of direct robbery: yet Dr. Aikin endeavours to palliate it. He says that the Protector stopped the sale, "conceiving that it would be a disgrace to his administration to permit such a literary treasure to be sent out of the kingdom." The excuse is utterly valueless. The act is only one of the many proofs which can be produced, that the liberty of the subject was not secured by the deposition of Charles I.

noble library, bearing evident traces of the shameful treatment to which it had been exposed.

The first work published after the Primate's death was a collection of tracts by Dr. Bernard, to which he affixed the title of, "The Judgement of the late Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of Ireland. 1. Of the extent of Christ's death and satisfaction. 2. Of the Sabbath and observation of the Lord's day. 3. Of the ordination of other reformed churches, with a vindication of him from a pretended change of opinion in the first, some advertisements upon the latter, and, in prevention of further injuries, a declaration of his judgment on several other subjects." Dr. Bernard would have consulted much better for the reputation of the Archbishop if he had not published these papers. He has so mixed his own opinions and comments with the Archbishop's, that it is difficult to ascertain how far we can receive them as the judgment of the Primate; and he has undoubtedly added much in order to conciliate the favor of the Presbyterians, with utter disregard to the character or declared sentiments of his patron. The book on the satisfaction of Christ was written in the year 1617, before the synod of Dort, and was carried there without the consent of the author, and communicated to many of the members. Its opinions were not sufficiently violent to please some of the deputies, who did not scruple to denounce it as favouring Arminianism and even Popery. In answer to these the Archbishop published the defence of his opinion.

I have already remarked[w] upon the unfairness of Dr. Bernard publishing a short extract from a letter of the Archbishop with respect to foreign ordinations. It seems merely to have been extracted for the purpose of affording Bernard an opportunity of explaining away all the statements of the Archbishop, and establishing on his authority his own false and mischievous opinions. He subsequently published a tract about the meaning of Babylon in the Apocalypse, which was certainly never intended for publication in such a form by the Archbishop. It is evidently only the rough

[w] See above, pag. 258.

draught of what might afterwards have been expanded into a treatise worthy of the Archbishop's name.

The next work published was "the Power of the Prince." This had been written many years before his death, and prepared for publication by the Primate. It had originally been composed at the request of Lord Strafford. On the breaking out of the disturbances in Scotland in 1639, Sir George Radcliffe applied to Dr. Bernard for the Primate's opinion on the subject, which was immediately sent in writing: and no sooner did the Primate arrive in Dublin than Lord Strafford called upon his Grace to make public his opinions, which he accordingly did, by preaching two sermons before the State in Christ Church, on the text: "I[x] counsel thee to keep the King's commandment, and that in regard of the oath of God." Lord Strafford subsequently communicated to the Lord Primate not only his own wish, but that of the King, that he should either print these sermons or write a treatise on the subject. He preferred the latter, and brought the treatise over with him to England, where it was submitted to the King, "who having read the book, signified his will and pleasure that it should be printed, to the end that all his beloved subjects might receive the like satisfaction from the same, as himself had done." The Archbishop immediately sent the copy to London, that it might be printed, but the person to whom it was intrusted, either through carelessness or design, lost the manuscript, and it never was recovered. The Archbishop sought in vain for the original among his numerous papers, and never ceased to express his regret at the loss of a work upon which he

[x] Eccles. chap. viii. ver. 2. Dr. Bernard says, "that the Primate's judgment was always the same, and so declared by him on all occasions, since I had the happynesse to be known to him: as annually upon the King's inauguration day (which was constantly observed by him at Drogheda with great solemnity), and occasionally in some learned sermons preacht by him at the opening of the two Parliaments. And especially upon the first solemnity of his present Majestie's birth-day, Anno 1630. at Dublin. [See above, pag. 111.] But most fully in his two speeches, the one made anno 1622, in defence of the oath of supremacy; the other anno 1627, before the Lord Deputy Falkland," &c. — *Clavi Trabales*, pag. 48.

had spent so much labor. After his death his executors were more successful, and discovered the original in the handwriting of the Archbishop, but it was not a time to publish such a treatise, and they were obliged to wait for a more favorable opportunity. Immediately after the Restoration the Archbishop's grandson, James Tyrrell, published the work, with a dedication to Charles II., and a learned preface by Bishop Saunderson. The object of that eminent Prelate, in the preface, was to vindicate the doctrine of Archbishop Ussher by pointing out the weakness of the arguments, by which "the original of all government is derived from the people by way of pact or compact, and answering the clamour raised against churchmen for asserting the power of sovereign princes, and requiring the obedience of the subject, which he considers can be completely performed by one short passage of St. Paul, 'Put them in mind to be subject to principalities and powers, to obey magistrates, to be ready to every good work.'"

The Bishop observes that, in this work, "every thing may be found which can be met with either in the Holy Scriptures, fathers, philosophers, common reason and the laws and statutes of the realm to prove it altogether unlawful for a subject to take up arms against his sovereign prince." The opinions advocated are the same which the Primate maintained in the answers[y] to some queries sent him after the war had begun, by some person in the parliamentary army, relative to the lawfulness of taking up arms. In these he decidedly pronounced in favor of the duty of passive obedience to the sovereign, and the obligation of rising in his defence when summoned. His aim and object he states to be, "no other but to confirm all good subjects in their dutiful obedience to their prince, and to prevent sedition and rebellion in such, as being otherwise well-minded, might, perhaps, for want of better information, be drawn out of the way, and misguided to their own destruction."

It has been already stated that the Archbishop was employed upon preparing his Chronology at the moment he

[y] See before, pag. 239.

was seized with his last illness. The manuscript of this was intrusted by his son-in-law, Sir Timothy Tyrrell, to Dr. Barlow, the President of Queen's College, Oxford, and afterwards Bishop of Lincoln, who published[z] it at Oxford. This work is imperfect at the beginning, but I am inclined to think that the lost chapter is among the MSS. in the Library of Trinity College; it is, however, in so mutilated a state that it was impossible to publish it.

The Archbishop appears, from the MSS. I have examined, to have formed many plans for the Chronology. There is a manuscript "De Temporibus sacris libri tres;" of this all that remains is the division of the first two books into chapters, and the subjects of each. There is another manuscript divided into five books. The present form seems to have been planned on the 10th of July, 1654, divided into two parts, Chronologiæ sacræ pars prior, pars posterior. The object of this work was to establish the dates fixed in the Annals, and to prove that the chronological calculations made use of in that work agreed with the accounts given in Scripture, and by profane authors; an argument which could not have been carried on in the Annals themselves, without interrupting the order of events.

It had been the intention of the Archbishop to add to this work a tract on the primitive year and calendar of the ancient Hebrews.

[z] I have deviated from the order observed by him in the publication. In his edition of the work the synchronisms of the kings of Judah and Israel were placed first, as being more perfect than the other part. This arrangement was censured by Dr. Parr, and the editor of the Paris edition adopted the true order, which I have followed. There is a curious oversight in the Paris edition. They copied the first edition, and called what is with them the first part, "Pars hæc altera ἀκεφαλος." I was, however, principally induced to make the change by a note which I found written by Dr. Barlow in his copy of the work, which is preserved in the Bodleian Library. The note is as follows: "Est error manifestus in his schedis disponendis; pro *parte* (enim) *altera* hujus Chronologiæ inscribi debet prima, dum caput primum (pag. 43) incipit cum temporis initio; c. ii. de Temporis progressu; ut reliqua capita xiii. sequentia contineant Chronologiam sacram Veteris Testamenti a Diluvio usque ad tempora Elonis, Jud. c. xii. Chronologia enim, cap. xiii. relicta est imperfecta. Chronologia vero Annorum Regum, &c., quamvis incipit hic liber, debuit ordine temporis non præcedere sed sequi.

For the next work we are indebted to the care of Archbishop Sancroft, who procured the manuscript by the assistance of Dr. Parr, and employed his chaplain, Dr. Henry Wharton, to edit the tracts, with this title: "Historia dogmatica Controversiæ inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios de Scripturis et Sacris vernaculis. Accessere ejusdem Dissertationes duæ, de Pseudo-Dionysii scriptis et de Epistola ad Laodicenos." In the first of these Tracts the Archbishop proves, by extracts from the Jewish writers before Christ, and also from the Greek and Latin Fathers down to the year 600, that it was not the practice to celebrate public worship in an unknown tongue, and that the people were exhorted to study the Scriptures. He then explains the origin of the Popish error on the subject, and proceeds to give extracts from various ecclesiastical writers down to the year 1526, to prove that witnesses were not wanting at any time to the truth, and that the consent of all ages in establishing the Popish doctrines is a mere fiction. To conclude this part of his subject he gives a list of persons who were punished in England during the first part of the sixteenth century for reading the holy Scriptures in the vulgar tongue. The Archbishop next proceeds to give authorities for reading the Scriptures from the Acts of Councils, from the civil law and the decrees of emperors and kings, from the canon law and the opinions of Popes, and then from the practice of the primitive Church. He concludes with an account of the contrary practice adopted by the enemies of the Church, and with the testimonies of adversaries.

Renaudot has attacked this treatise with great vehemence; he has even gone the length of asserting that the Archbishop did not understand the versions of the Scriptures, and had not seen the liturgies to which he referred: "Ea[a] porro omnia, quæ in adversaria conjecerat, ad versiones Sacræ Scripturæ et Liturgias spectantia hominis sunt, qui quæcunque occurrebant absque delectu colligebat. Nam quæ de utroque argumento habet, præsertim de ver-

[a] Liturg. Oriental Coll. tom. i. Dissert. Præv. c. vi. pag. xlix.

sionibus, a nemine scribi poterant, qui levissimam illarum notitiam habuisset. De Liturgiis ita loquitur, ut nullam vidisse satis intelligatur." To answer such a charge would be an insult to the memory of Primate Ussher. But, ignorant as he considers the Primate, Renaudot does attempt to answer his great argument. He says: "Præcipuum argumentum duxit ab Orientalium ecclesiarum exemplo, 'Syri enim Syriace, ut Græci Græce, Coptitæ Coptice, Armeni Armenice, Æthiopes Æthiopice sacra faciunt.' Ita sane neque tantum operæ ponendum fuerat ad rei vulgaris et notissimæ probationem. Græci Græce, Syriace Syri liturgias celebrant antiquitus, id nemo inficiatur, nisi illi forte, qui bellum illud de Crucis titulo argumentum admirantur. At quod inde Usserius et alii collegere, sacra eorum Christianorum quos enumerant exemplo, populari sermone celebranda esse, falsissimum est. Quippe Syri orthodoxi, Jacobitæ et Nestoriani Syriacam linguam, cujus ab aliquot sæculis usus vulgaris nullus est, non magis intelligunt, quam plebs rusticana nostra Latinam." It is scarcely necessary to point out the fallacy of this answer. The argument of Archbishop Ussher did not relate to the present state of the Eastern liturgies, but to the past. It is not of any consequence to the truth of his conclusion, whether the modern Syrians understand the Syriac Liturgy any more than the modern Romans understand the Latin. The question is, what was the practice of the Church for the first six centuries. This question the Archbishop determines by the existence of liturgies in the language which the people understood, and this determination cannot be affected by the subsequent change of language, which prevents the liturgy being any longer intelligible. This fact only proves that the primitive practice was not continued, and that many churches now do not use a liturgy which is intelligible to the congregation,—a position which will not be contested by any opponent of the Romish Church. The argument of the Archbishop is unanswerable, and has been admitted as such by many able advocates of the Romish

[b] Liturg. Oriental. Coll., tom. i. Dissert. Præv. c. vi. pag. xliv.

communion, who are quoted in the Historia Dogmatica. "Optandum videtur," says Cassander, "ut juxta apostolicum mandatum et priscum Ecclesiæ morem in lingua vulgari preces peragerentur."

To the Historia Dogmatica are annexed two treatises, the first "De Pseudo-Dionysii scriptis," the second "De Epistola ad Laodicenos." Both these treatises seem to be only the sketches of a larger work. The Archbishop commences the treatise on the writings of Dionysius by giving the four arguments, which Photius, the Patriarch of Constantinople, quotes from Theodorus the Presbyter. To these he adds various others from the introduction of subjects which belong to a later age than that of Dionysius, the institution of monks, and many ceremonies which notoriously had not commenced at so early a period. He also shows the inconsistencies of his statements as to the death and assumption of the Virgin Mary. The Archbishop refers[c] twice in this Treatise to his Bibliotheca Theologica.

[c] In the Bibliotheca Theologica the Archbishop attributes the authorship to Apollinaris, and from the manuscript of that work Dr. Cave has quoted the following passage, illustrative of the history of these spurious writings:

"Quum primum in lucem prodierunt Dionysio Areopagitæ scripta attributa (quorum inter primos meminit Johannes Philoponus), quod multa laborarent obscuritate, scholiis illa sub sexti sæculi initia illustranda censuit Johannes Scythopolita, in quorum proœmio agnoscit tamen, quod τολμῶσί τινες (sic enim loquitur) λοιδορεῖν εἰς αἱρέσεις τὸν θεῖον Διονύσιον. Posteaque de loco, ubi conservata fuerunt hæc scripta, addit, Διάκονός δέ τις Ῥωμαῖος, Πέτρος ὄνομα, διηγήσατό μοι πάντα τὰ τοῦ θείου Διονυσίου σώζεσθαι, κατὰ τὴν ἐν Ῥώμῃ, τῶν ἱερῶν βιβλιοθήκην ἀνατεθειμένα.

"Et ad hæreses quidem quod attinet, in collatione anno 532 inter Catholicos et Severianos habita, cum hæretici Dionysii Areopagitæ scripta pro se allegassent; a Catholicis de falsitate autoris exceptionem interpositam fuisse constat; quod illa neque Cyrillus neque Athanasius agnovisset: et satis dubie de iisdem postea locutus est Gregorius M. ita inquiens, 'Fertur Dionysius Areopagita, antiquus videlicet et venerabilis pater, dicere: quod ex minorum angelorum agminibus foras ad explendum ministerium vel visibiliter vel invisibiliter mittunt.' De Romana vero bibliotheca non negligenda est etiam illa Anastasii bibliothecarii cum Græcorum sententia consentiens conjectura in epistola ad Carolum Calvum anno 860, exarata. Unde ego veram esse Græcorum opinionem conjicio, perhibentium libros ejus a prioribus hæreticis occultatos; donec longo post tempore ex opusculis ejus solus codex, qui nunc habetur, est Romæ

The treatise on the Epistle to the Laodiceans refers to the well-known controversy, and appears to have been only a fragment of a larger dissertation.

I have already given[d] an account of the treatise upon Corbes and Herenachs. Two other treatises were published respecting the ancient constitution of Ireland. In the treatise, "Of the first Establishment of English Laws and Parliaments in the Kingdom of Ireland," the Archbishop shows that, after the establishment of the English government in Ireland, "such Statutes as were enacted in Parliaments held in England, were intended always to

repertus, cæterisque, adhuc ineditis, nondum inventis, in Græciam asportatus. Circa an. 630. Maximus monachus sua in Dionysium scholia edidit; in quibus contra eos disputat, qui Areopagitæ scripta illa adjudicabant, et Apollinario attribuebant. Circa an. 649, Martinus I. in Synodo Romana contra hæreticos habita, Dionysium Areopagitam citat. Inter alios libros a Paulo Papa circa an. 767. ad regem Pipinum missos, fuisse Dionysii Areopagitæ libros Græce scriptos constat ex vigesima quinta Pauli epistola a Gretsero edita. Anno DCLXXX. Agatho P. in epistola ad Imp. CP. citat locum Dionysii ex libro divinorum nominum. Anno DCCXCIV. Hadrianus I. in libro de imag. ad Carolum M. Latine citat testimonia ex Dionysii epistola ad Johannem Evang. et libro de cœlesti Hierarchia. Anno DCCCXXIV. Dionysii authenticos libros Græca lingua conscriptos Œconomus Ecclesiæ CP. et cæteri legati Michaelis Imp. ad Ludovicum Pium in ipsa vigilia solennitatis S. Dionysii præsentarunt: ut habet Hilduinus, qui tum adfuit, in præf. Areopagitic. et Sigebertus in Chron. ad ann. DCCCXXIV. Inde in epistola ad Hilduinum (Dionysiaci cœnobii apud Parisienses tunc abbatem) ei mandat Ludovicus Imp. ut acta Dionysii tum ex aliis scriptis, tum ex libris (inquit) ab eo patrio sermone conscriptis, et auctoritatis nostræ jussione, ac tuo sagaci studio, interpretumque sudore in nostram linguam explicatis consignaret, et Hilduinus in responsione ad eandem. 'De notitia (inquit) librorum quos patrio sermone conscripsit, et quibus petentibus illis composuit, lectio nobis per Dei gratiam et vestram ordinationem, cujus dispensatione interpretatos scrinia nostra eos petentibus reserant, satisfacit.' Unde colligitur si non ab Hilduino ipso (quo ad annum DCCCXXIV. Baronius inclinat) saltem ab aliis, Ludovici Pii jussu, Dionysii libros Latine fuisse versos. Unde hausta translatio epistolæ ad Apollophanem (quæ in nostris Græcis non extat) ad Joannem Apostolum, et majoris partis epistolæ ad Demophilum, quæ ipsius Hilduini Areopagiticis inserta legitur. Ad ann. 1180, Joannes Sarracenus (Joannis nostri Sarisburiensis familiaris) suam Dionysii versionem edidit: Robertus Grosthead Lincolniensis Episcopus circa an. 1250. Thomas vero Vercellensis Abbas Commentarios suos in Dionysium scripsit circa an. 1242."

[d] See above, pag. 28.

have been made for the government as well of this kingdom as of the other;" and he refers particularly to the Statute enacted at Westminster in the fourth year of King Henry V., touching promotion of clerks of the Irish nation, "by which it is evident that the Kings of England, granting liberty of holding Parliaments in this land, intended nothing less than to abridge their own authority thereby, or to exempt the inhabitants of this realm from the power of the laws, which should be made in the mother kingdom." The matter was first called into question in the second year of Richard III., and finally determined by the Chief Justice of England, with the consent of all the Judges assembled in the Exchequer Chamber, "that the Statutes made in England do bind those of Ireland." He answers the argument alleged from Poyning's Statute, confirming all Statutes heretofore made in England, by the fact that the same Parliament passed an Act confirming the Statutes made at Kilkenny; and that in the reigns of Henry IV. and Henry VI. similar Acts were passed, confirming Statutes passed by former Parliaments, "whereby it is manifest that from the reviving or confirming of any Statutes no sufficient argument can be drawn to disannul the authority of those Acts before such confirmation." In the Parliament begun at London in the twenty-first year of King Henry VIII., the Act of Faculties was ordained, not only for the realm of England, but also for all other the King's dominions, and "the States of Ireland, assembled in Parliament in the twenty-eighth year of the same King, thought it nothing strange that the effects of the Act, ordained in England, should be thus extended to the King's other dominions, but freely acknowledged so much."

From the Act of Edward II., desiring that Parliaments should be held once a year, and from the Act of Henry VI., restraining for a time their being called oftener, the Archbishop infers that "the principal use of Parliaments in former times was not so much to make new laws, as to see the old put in execution, and to advise of other matters that concerned the state of the Commonwealth." He then gives instances of the various purposes for which they were sum-

moned; sometimes for the trial of some great personages, sometimes for consultation in times of great danger, sometimes for viewing the state of the king's tenants, sometimes for hearing and determining controversies of right between party and party, and sometimes for enacting and establishing Statutes for the government of the land.

The other treatise is "a Discourse showing when and how far the Imperial laws were received by the old Irish and the several inhabitants of Great Britain." This treatise appears to have been written for the use of Sir Arthur Duck, and was incorporated by him in his work on civil law. The Archbishop maintains "that the Irish never received the imperial law, but received still their own Brehon law, which consisted partly of the customs of the land, partly of the ordinances enacted by their kings and chief governors." Yet it appears from Sir John Davies that the Brehons in giving of judgment were assisted by scholars, who had learned much of the civil and canon law. The natives of Scotland, being a colony of the Irish, used the like customary laws, until David introduced the laws of Justinian about the middle of the twelfth century, or, as the Archbishop considers more probable, about the middle of the fourteenth century, referring it not to David I. but to David II.

In Britain the laws of Rome were observed, until the Saxons drove the Britons into Cornwall and Wales, when they returned to the customary laws of their own country, having no written law until the year 940, in the reign of Howel-Dha. The civil law was introduced into England in the year 1149 by Vacarius. Every attempt was made to suppress it by Stephen, but it was restored again in the reign of his successor, Henry II. A second attempt to suppress the study of it was made by a king's writ in 1235, but the clergy still continued to study it, as appears from a reproof given to them by Roger Bacon in the reign of Edward I., and the profession of it was finally established at both the Universities, "with a protestation, however, that the kingdom was not subject to the rule of that law;" as appeareth by the proceedings of the Parliament, anno 2 Richardi II.

Both these treatises were printed by Gutch in his Collectanea Curiosa, from copies taken by Archbishop Sancroft, of the original MSS. preserved in the Archiepiscopal Library at Lambeth, in the handwriting of Archbishop Ussher[e].

I have already stated that the Primate never printed any sermons but two, and expressed a wish that none should be published as his. A few were printed during his life, and in the year 1660 a volume appeared with the title: "Eighteen Sermons, preached in Oxford, 1640, of Conversion unto God, of Redemption, and Justification, by the Rev. James Ussher, late Bishop of Armagh, in Ireland; published by Jos. Crabb, Will. Wall, Thos. Lye, Ministers of the Gospel, who wrote them from his mouth, and compared their copies together; with a preface concerning the life of the pious author, by the Rev. Stanly Gower, sometime Chaplain of the said Bishop, now minister in Dorchester.

"He being dead yet speaketh. Heb. ii. 4."

These sermons I have reprinted in the thirteenth volume of the Archbishop's works, not without considerable doubts as to the propriety of disobeying the Archbishop's wishes. There are in existence several volumes of manuscripts purporting to be sermons of the Archbishop. The only one of which there appears distinct evidence that it was taken from notes of his sermons, is preserved in the Library of Balliol College, Oxford, and a copy was given me by the kindness of the Master, the Rev. Dr. Jenkyns. This volume was given to the Library of Balliol College, by William Crooke, a bookseller in London, about the year 1693. In the marginal references are several allusions to the Archbishop's works: "See my answer to the Jesuit's Challenge;" "See my Treatise de Christianarum Ecclesiarum successione et statu, c. vii. ss. 21, 22, and the Answer to the Jesuit, p. 514, 515." The following note must also refer to the Archbishop: "Jo. Tissington, in Confessione cont. Jo. Wicliff, quam MS. habeo." From these references it would appear that the sermons in this collection were copied from

[e] They are printed now in the eleventh volume of the Archbishop's Works.

the Archbishop's notes; and that he made very full notes[f] of his sermons is evident from the circumstance related before[g], of his having preached the same sermon several times, because he thought the subject so important, "a soul-saving sermon;" yet the sermons themselves are not as well put together as those before published. In order to gratify the curiosity which exists about the preaching of one so distinguished in his day, I have completed the volume with sermons from this collection; I am convinced, however, that the Archbishop was very prudent in forbidding the publication of the notes taken of his sermons, and that an unfavorable opinion will be formed of his powers as a preacher, unless great allowance be made for the imperfect manner in which they have descended to us.

It remains now to give some account of the MSS.[h] which

[f] The notes of three sermons are preserved in the Archbishop's handwriting, and are published in the fourteenth volume of his works. From which it will appear what was his usual mode of preparation.

[g] See page 293.

[h] The following letter of Dr. Parr to Archbishop Sancroft, respecting the MSS., is preserved amongst Archbishop Sancroft's papers, in the Tanner Collection in the Bodleian Library:

"May it please your Grace,

"I presume (upon your Lordship's intimation when I waited on your Grace) to present to your view som MSS. of that eminent Primat Usher's, being his various collections and observations. Your Lordship perhaps may think me easy when I so readyly comply in a matter of this nature, and indeed I should blame myselfe, but that methinks, your Lordship's temper is much like to that greate mans, whose memory to me must be ever precious, with whom I had more than ordinary freedom and intimate conversation for many yeares, haveing had the happiness (time was) to be his chaplaine, and a great sharer in his affections. My Lord, I would not expose these things (which cost him so much time and labour) to every body's view and censure, scarcly to any besids yourselfe, but not doubting your Lordship's candour, I hope you will preserve those papers safe in your owne custody, untill your Lordship has given yourselfe som diversion (at your spare houres) in peruseing them, and afterward be pleased to return them, and what else I have (by me) of that kind, your Lordship may command the sight of them.

"I herewith send your Grace 2 fol^s., 3 4^tos., and 4 8^vos. You will easily discern what is written propria manu. There is in the beginning of one of the 4^tos. a treatis of Theologie of Ambros Ussher, brother to the Primate, a very learned young man who died too early. There

were left by the Archbishop. There must have been great destruction of the papers left by the Archbishop, as very little

is one of the fol^s. which hath in it, The Archion of Englands high Courts of Justice, and a catalogue of the MSS. in Bibliotheca Thuani, and also the Index of the Greek MSS. in the Vatican. I have no more for this time to say, but to beg your Lordship's pardon for this freedom I take, and that you would interpret it to be the result from one that valueth goodness in greatness, as the most valuable excellency, and that which challengeth the reverence and respects, as in your Grace it dos, from

"Your Lordship's humble Servant,

"*Cammerwell, Jan. 5th*, 168½." "RI. PARR.

With this letter is preserved the original form of dedication to Archbishop Sancroft, as proposed by Dr. Parr. There does not appear any letter from the Archbishop, assigning his reasons for suppressing it; but there are two other letters from Dr. Parr, intreating his Grace's interference to expedite the license for publishing the life. Some account has been given before, pag. 262, of the difficulties which impeded the publication.

THE DEDICATION.

"To the most Reverend Father, Dr. William Sancroft, Lord Archbishop of Canterbury, Primate of all England and Metropolitan.

"May it please yor Grace,

"I presume to address yor Lordship wth these memorialls of the life, actions, and death of the most Reverend Prelate, Dr. James Ussher, sometime Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate of all Ireland. And the rather for that he was of yor Ldship's order and degree in the Church, and not only so, but worthy to be ranked wth the most eminent of Primitive Bpps in the Christian Church, since the Apls for learning and piety, so that it can in no way derogate from y^r L^dship's honno^r to put a value on him, and to allow him a great hight in yor Graces estimation, yo^rself being acquainted wth him, and his virtues in his life-time.

"Besids I had not undertaken this publication of these memorialls in this age, had not yor Lordship (when you allowed me the freedom of access) intimated unto me yor wish that there might be a more larg and perfect account given of Archbps Ushers life and character than hitherto has bin don, wch gave me som encouragm^t to remind and review my owne observations of him for several yeares of my close attendance on him being entirely acquainted wth himselfe and all his concernm^ts; and perceiveing that yor L^dship would often speake most worthyly of him, and delighted to heare good things said of Primate Vsher, I could not but think that yor L^dship very well understood the most valuable worth of the greatest men, and judged that reall piety, accompanied with most choyce learning, and unfained humility, was cheifly remarkable in the best qualified men, and most highly dignified in the Church, wch made me think that yor Grace was much of his temper, and ever since I have observed so much of him in yor L^dship's disposition and carriage, I cannot choose but pay yor Lordship all the high respects due unto you upon that

that can be considered valuable now remains. Dr. Parr directly charges Dr. Bernard with having borrowed several

account, as well as to that reverend dignity of y^r^ place and office, in the highest station in the Church.

"My L^d^ I would not be thought a flatterer either of the dead or liveing in expectation of any secular advantage thereby, for I court it not, only I beg yor L^d^ship's pardon if anything I have sayd of, or to yor Grace looks like a fawning, for I well know that 'tis but a meane art of begging the favo^r^ of great men, wch no good man can like. But my L^d^ there is somewhat more that claims yor favorable permission of this dedication; for that yor L^d^ship knows how much you have contributed toward the retreeving of those learned letters written by my Ld Primate, and to him on severall subjects and occasions (herew^th^ published) wch originalls had bin lost had it not bin that yor L^d^ship was so inquisitive after y^m^, and at last obtained a considerable number of the originals, w^thout^ wch these we have in possession would have bin much maimed, so that yor L^d^ship has a double claim to the performance. And I was very glad to find such an one as yo^r^selfe, in this declining age, that disdaynes not to countenance and encourage the true religion in principle and practice owned and maintained in the Church of England, of wch our Primate Usher was ever an invincible assertor and maintainer to his last breath, in opposition to Popery and all other sectarian deuices and inventions, and upon this account also I knew not where so well to lodg this narratiue (such as it is) then in yor L^d^ship's hands.

"And moreover I was the more induc^d^ to this performance of reviveing the memory of the learned and holy Primate, because som enuious and spitfull men have labo^r^ed to aspers and dash the reputation of that unspotted Primate, not understanding ther intrinsick worth, nor right measures of reall piety, loyalty and sounder judgm^t^ in matters of Religion, Policie, and ancient gouerm^t^ by Bpps in the Church, yet notwithstanding all calumnies he bore up his unblemished reputation, and stood firm against all indignities and injuries, as a rock against the waves; and lett it not be wondered at that som men (none of the best) snarle at eminent men, as little dogs do at strangers, and I make no question but yor L^d^ship has argument enough to silence such bould men, that at all peradventure and at random, speake euill of dignities. But my L^d^ there is yet another end why I publish these memorialls, wch is partly to remove the mistakes in som circumstances where those persons who have written the life of this excellent Prelate, one after another have fallen under in many instances.

"My L^d^ I have made this adventure to yor Grace as to one not byassed by any secular interest to misjudg of persons, and things at the rule of other mens humo^r^ or reports but to judg righteously as matters are, in truth; comparing things wth things as most congruous to reall piety and right wisdom, and so far I may p'sume of yor L^d^ship's acceptation of what I have herein offered concerning the excellent Primate Usher; of whom we speake and declare.

"But, my L^d^. I do not, I dare not, lay claime to yor L^d^ship's patron-

volumes and never returned them. Both in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, and in the Library of Trinity College,

age of my faileings in the stile or manner of writeing, for herein I can make no apologie other than that of mine owne insufficiency to perform exactly so great an undertaking, never the less I haue on this subject sayd nothing but the truth concerning the integrity, wisdom, loyalty, and sanctity of that incomparable Prelate, in all his capacities and occurrences dureing the last 13 yeares of his life, and so far I crave yor L^{d}ship's allowance, and for the rest to ouerlooke and pass by the unwilling and inuincible erratas; and prouided my L^{d} will entertaine a due value for that admirable Primate, I am content to bare the blame of coming short in my expressions, seeing he has deserued infinitely more than I could express in words, and if I have not don it as I ought, it is not because I would not, but I could not.

"Please yor Grace therefore to accept what I offer on this subject wth my due respects and reuerence to your eminency in the Church, and for what I owe to yor personall candor, goodness, and piety, wch altogether meeting in yor Lordship hath hugely oblidged me to loue and honno^{r} you, who am,

"Your L^{d}ship's very humble Servant,

"R. P.

"*Cammerwell, April 24th*, 1684.

"Most Reuer^{d} Father,

"I haue sent unto yor Grace the Life and Letters of the Ld Primate Usher. I hope yor Grace will peruse them, and after that I make no question, yor Lordship will think that they are designed for the seruice of the King, the Church, and Learning; tis very much wondered at by many R^{t} Revd Bishops, and other learned and worthy persons that the book should meet wth any obstruction as to the publication; being so long expected and so much desired; but when we consider in whose hands it hath unfortunately fallen o^{r} wonder must cease; my L^{d} the whole life and a greate part of the letters was printed off before the Act passed; but Dr. Midgly and Sir Rog. hath had the book for their licencing more than 12 weeks, and giue no absolute denyall, yet now at last Sir Rog. L'Estrang tells us that 'tis in the Chief Secretarys possession, and there it must lye for ought I know much longer: my good Lord will yor Grace be pleased to concern yor selfe a little to rescue that silent and innocent prisoner, that it may com forth. And I am very confident yor Lordship who has so great a value for the memory of that excellent Primate will be very well pleased when you haue effected this worthy undertaking, and you will ever oblidg,

"Yo^{r} faithful and obedient humble Seruant,

"Rl Parr.

"*Cam. Feb.* 22, 168$\frac{4}{5}$.

"I left the Preface wth yor Grace in the morning.

"Most Revd. Father in God,

I am much oblidged to yor Grace that you vouchsafed to peruse the life of that excellent Primate as now it is written by me, and

Dublin, there is a great mass of Collectanea and of Collations, which attest the extraordinary diligence of the Archbishop, but scarcely anything in such a state as to be fit for publication. From the moment of the Archbishop's death great anxiety was exhibited concerning the Bibliotheca Theologica, which had, from an early period[1] of his life, formed the great object of the Archbishop's attention. The MS.

thank yor L^{d}ship very heartyly for yor sense and advice given aboute it. I am of yor Graces opinion that (as things are now) those passages refelting on the Papists (how true soever) will not be allowed by those in whose hands the book is now. But my good Lord will it not be pity that so many other excellent matters both in the life and letters concerning Loyalty, piety and learning should be stifled for a few expressions or notices at which som men may take offence. I hope it is no crime to say or write that our King Charles the first was no friend to Popery, and that he liued and died in the Cōmunion of the Church of England, wch he alwayes owned and defended, and for that sense the Bpps of Ireland gave about Popery, was a good while agon, tho' it be probable that had they liued untill now they would not have changed theire opinion; But my Lord then was then, and now is now. But seeing it is so I humbly offer to yor Grace that if those passages be offensive we will quickly take off those sheets wherin those matters are, and print them againe, and instead of them make up the vacancy wth such things as will be of another nature, as I think I can easily do wthout interrupting the story and as for the letters I know but of two that can justly offend in those instances, vizt. that of the L^{d} Bp. Bramhals from Paris, and that of Sr Wm Boswels to Archbp. Laud fro the Hague; and if that will satisfie, we will take them quit away. My Lord, if you please to concern yo^{r}selfe as by these offers to facilitate the passage abroad of the rest you will doe no dishono^{r} to yo^{r}selfe, but mightyly contribute towards the furnishing the world wth a treasure, and ever oblidge me (who otherwise must be at a loss and too great an expense for me to beare) who am and must allwayes be

"Your Graces most affectionate and obedient Servant,
"RI. PARR.

"*Cam. Feb. 24th*, 168$\frac{4}{5}$."

On examining the pages in the Life by Dr. Parr, it would seem as if this offer had been accepted, and an offensive page cancelled. In page 92 are some severe remarks upon the Roman Catholics, which are brought rapidly to a close, and pages 93 and 94 are printed in a different type, evidently for the purpose of concealing the omission of some passage. The type of these pages is so much larger than that of the work, that nearly half a page might have been omitted. I cannot trace any other similar change of type. The letters of Archbishop Bramhall and Sir William Boswell were not suppressed.

[1] He appears to have made some progress in it so early as the year 1608. See his letter to Dr. Ward, vol. xv. pag. 42.

was committed, at the special desire of the Archbishop, to the care of his friend, Dr. Langbaine, Provost of Queen's College, "as the only man on whose learning, as well as friendship, he could rely, to cast them into such a form as might render them fit for the press." Dr. Langbaine proved himself worthy of the trust, and set to work most laboriously, copying out the manuscript, and endeavouring to fill up the quotations in the margin, which had been eaten away by rats. Devoting himself with indefatigable industry to this task during a severe winter, he caught cold in the Bodleian Library, and died within a year after the Archbishop. Dr. Fell, the learned Bishop of Oxford, endeavoured to have the work completed, but without success. The transcript of Dr. Langbaine remains in the Bodleian Library, fairly written out, but in such a state that it would require almost as much labor to prepare it for the press as was expended in its original formation. The original got into the possession of Bishop Stillingfleet, and is now deposited in the British Museum. It is a folio of about 600 pages, written so closely as to be read with great difficulty, every atom of paper covered with interlineations and marginal notes lying in every direction. I got a copy made of Dr. Langbaine's work, and collated great part of it with the original in the British Museum. It was done with great fidelity, but as every page convinced me more and more of the impossibility of publishing the MS., I gave up the task. The original was lent by Bishop Stillingfleet to Dr. Cave[k], and he made great use of it in his valuable pub-

[k] Dr. Cave describes the work as in a worse state than it really was, and undervalues the assistance which he derived from it. "Sed proh dolor! opus erat institutum potius quam inchoatum, nec nisi rudis indigestaque moles. Gravioribus enim negotiis occupatus, et belli civilis per plures annos apud nos grassantis tempestate hinc inde jactatus, vix ultra confusa quædam collectanea progressus est. Eruditissimi præsulis autographum pro summa qua pollet, humanitate mihi communicavit Edvardus Stillingfleet, ædis Paulinæ apud Londinenses Decanus, gentis pariter ac seculi nostri ornamentum. Sed cum haud præter schedas quasdam laceras, et misere detritas, male exaratas nulloque ordine dispositas contineret, spes, quam conceperam, præclara exinde in usum meum depromendi, magnam partem frustrata est; paucula excerpsi,

lication, so that not as much advantage as might be expected would be derived from an arrangement and publication of the whole work. There is in the Library of the Dublin University a small thin folio, which appears to contain the first sketch of the work.

Another MS. which was looked for with great curiosity was the collection of lectures delivered as Professor of Divinity on the Roman Catholic controversy. These Dr. Parr states to have been lost, but I am sure that I found in our College Library the work referred to, and, as it was spoken so much of, have published it. However, it is in a very unfit state for publication. The MS. was undoubtedly commenced as a fair copy for publication, but it never was finished. There are blanks left in almost every dissertation, and, though there is a great deal of curious matter and excellent argument in what remains, yet it is generally the objection which is most formidable that is left unanswered, the very subject on which information would be most desired. No doubt the Archbishop left these points for further consideration, wishing to make his argument as perfect as possible, and the pressure of other business, or rather the unfortunate distresses of his latter years, prevented that completion ever having been given. Not less anxiety was shown for the lectures delivered on taking the degree of D.D. I have found four different treatises on the seventy weeks, but not one completed, or even carried on far enough to be interesting. They were evidently the first draughts of what he was preparing, but the perfect copy is not to be found. I have made up a volume of those tracts which are in the fittest state for publication, and I think it will afford good evidence that we must rest the character of the Archbishop[1],

quæ servatis ut plurimum ipsius Usserii verbis, suis locis inseruntur."—*Cave Prolegom.* pag. 18.

[1] A German work has classed Archbishop Ussher among the writers on music. "Usher (Jacob) ein gelehrter Erzbischoff von Armagh und Primas von Irrland, geb. zu Dublin am 4 Jan. 1580; hat in seinen Annalen des A. und N. Testaments, wie auch in seinen Britannicarum Ecclesiarum antiquitatibus, &c., verschiedenes zur musik Geschichte Gehöriges angefuhrt."—*Gerber Hist. Biog. Lex. der Tonkünstler.*

and our hopes of information, upon the works which he published himself.

There is no monument to mark the spot where the ashes of Archbishop Ussher repose. The following inscription had been intended by his friend, Dr. John Greaves, to commemorate his learning and virtues:

M. S.
JACOBUS USSERIUS
Archiepiscopus Armachanus
Hic situs est.
Ob
Raram eruditionem,
Ingenii acumen,
Dicendi et scribendi facilitatem,
Morum gravitatem suavitate conditam,
Vitæ candorem et integritatem,
Æquabilem in utraque fortuna animi constantiam,
Orbi Christiano et piis omnibus charus,
Omniumque judicio præterquam suo
Præsul vere magnus:
Qui Ecclesiam veterum institutis,
Clerum suo exemplo,
Populum concionibus,
Assidue instruxit:
Qui Scripturas Veteris et Novi Fœderis,
Commentariis ex ultima
Et recondita antiquitate illustravit,
Chronologiam sacram pristino nitori restituit,
Bonarum artium professores inopia afflictos
Munificentia sublevavit.
Denique qui Hæreses repullulantes calamo erudito contudit.
His ingenii dotibus, his animi virtutibus ornatus
Antistes optimus, piissimus, meritissimus,
Inter bella civilia et patriæ suæ et Ecclesiæ funesta,
Sibique luctuosa,
Cum nec Patriæ nec Ecclesiæ diutius prodesse poterat,
In Christo, Pacis auctore, placide obdormivit.
Anno Christi . . .
Ætatis suæ . .

A CATALOGUE

OF ARCHBISHOP USSHER'S OWN MANUSCRIPTS NOT PRINTED,

AS GIVEN BY DR. PARR.

Lemmata Manuscriptorum.

Censura Patrum et aliorum scriptorum Ecclesiasticorum, sive Bibliotheca Theologica.

Historiæ dogmaticæ quæstionum inter Orthodoxos et Pontificios controversarum specimen, in quæstione de communi sacrarum Scripturarum usu, contra Scripturarum lucifugas. [Since printed.]

De veterum Pascalibus scriptis et de ratione Paschali, quibus computi Ecclesiastici in universo orbe Christiano, ante Gregorianam reformationem, aperiuntur ex vetustissimis manuscriptis codicibus notis illustratum.

Veterum de tempore Passionis Dominicæ et Paschalis Τὰ εὑρισκόμενα.

Variæ Lectiones et collationes Veteris et Novi Testamenti.

1. Genesis. Longe antiquissimum exemplar Græcum Cottonianum cum editione Francofurtensi, collatum.
2. Collatio Psalterii a B. Hieronymo ex Heb. conversi et a Jacobo Fabro Parisiis An. 1513. editi, cum aliis exemplaribus manuscriptis et impressis.
3. Annotationes variarum lectionum in Psalmis juxta Masoreth Judæorum, sive cum nota aliqua Masoretica.
4. Psalterium cum versione Saxonicâ interlineatâ in Bibliothecâ Salisburiensis Ecclesiæ.
5. Psalterium Gallicum cum Romano collatum et Hebraico παραλληλῶς oppositum, Manuscripto in Westmonasteriensis Ecclesiæ Bibliotheca.
6. Collatio Canticorum utriusque Testamenti cum editione vulgata Latina.
7. Variæ lectiones et collationes N. Test. ex vetustissimis exemplaribus.
8. Collatio editionis Chronici Eusebii a Josepho Scaligero editi cum Manuscripto e Regia Bibliotheca.
9. Collatio variorum Pentateuchi Samaritani exemplarium cum notis et observationibus.
10. Chronologia legum Codicis Theodosiani et Justiniani collata cum Malmesburiensi manuscripto.

Julianæ periodi ad Juliani anni usum et vulgaris æræ Christianæ, ad anni Juliani pariter et Gregoriani methodum accommodatæ, fixa jam Epocha, cum tabula reductionis dierum anni Juliani veteris ad dies anni Gregoriani novi, hodie usitati in pluribus partibus orbis.

Ratio Bissextorum literarum Dominicarum, Equinoctiorum et Festorum Christianorum tam mobilium quam immobilium.

De institutione Chronologica viz. de Tempore et illius mensura, de die ejusque partibus, de horis et scrupulis, de hebdomadibus et mensibus, de anno Astronomico, de varia annorum supputatione: secundum Græca exemplaria.

De differentia Circuli et Sphæræ, de cursu septem Planetarum et signorum cælestium, et de quinque parallelis in sphera zonas distinguentibus.

Veteres Observationes cælestes Chaldaicæ, Græcæ et Ægyptiacæ.

Insigniorum imperiorum et regnorum, quæ ante Christi adventum in orbe floruerunt successiones et tempora, ad usum veteris Historiæ studiosorum; eorum præsertim qui exoticam Chronologiam cum sacra conferre cupiunt.

Series Chronologica Syriaca Regum et Imperatorum Babylonicorum, Persarum, Græcorum et Romanorum a Nebuchadnezzar ad Vespasianum ab anno mundi 4915 ad annum 5585.

De Fastis Magistratuum et Consulum et Triumphorum Romanorum, ab urbe condita usque ad excessum Cæsaris Augusti, ex fragmentis marmoreis foro Romano effossis, et a doctissimis nostri temporis Chronographis suppletis.

Catalogus Consulum ex variis autoribus.

De Ponderibus et mensuris.

De Primis Hæreticis et Hæresibus Judæorum.

Annotationes Rabbinicæ ex scriptis Rabbinorum et eorum sacræ Scripturæ Interpretum.

Imperatorum Christianorum a Constantino magno usque ad Justinianum constitutiones et epistolæ collectæ et recensitæ.

Veterum Anglo-Saxonum monumenta et Anglo-Saxonicarum epistolarum sylloge ex variis MSS.

Epistolæ Alcuini variæ ad diversos missæ ineditæ, in Bibliotheca Cottoniana MSS. collectæ et recensitæ.

Epistolæ venerabilis Archiepiscopi Lanfranci ad diversos missæ, ex antiquissimo exemplari Bibliothecæ Cottonianæ collectæ et recensitæ.

Collectiones genealogicæ, Historicæ, Mathematicæ, Astrologicæ, Chronologicæ, et Theologicæ variæ.

MEMORANDUM.

That out of the forementioned Manuscripts the incomparable Sir Matthew Hale, late Lord Chief Justice (having borrowed them), extracted those four volumes, which he calls "Chronological remembrances extracted out of the notes of Bishop Usher," mentioned in the Catalogue of his Manuscripts, which he left to the Honorable Society of Lincoln's Inn.

Besides those Manuscripts above cited, the Primate Usher had written his Polemical Lectures in the University of Dublin, while Professor there, touching the points in Controversie between the Protestants and Pontificians, 3 vols. 4to. [Lost.]

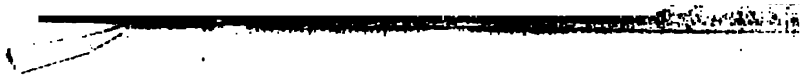
His lectures *pro forma* when he commenced D. D., touching the 70 weeks, Dan. ix. 24. and De mille annis, mentioned Apoc. xx. 4. [Lost.]

His treatise of the Hermage and Corban lands in England and Ireland, yet to be seen in Bibliotheca Lambethiana. [Since published.]

His Collections and observations touching the advancement and restauration of our northern antiquities in the Gothick, Anglo-Saxonick, and the like obscure languages, and also concerning the doxology found in the very ancient Gospels in Gothick.

His numerous Epistles, Latin and English, touching matters of learning and religion, many of them now printed.

APPENDIX.

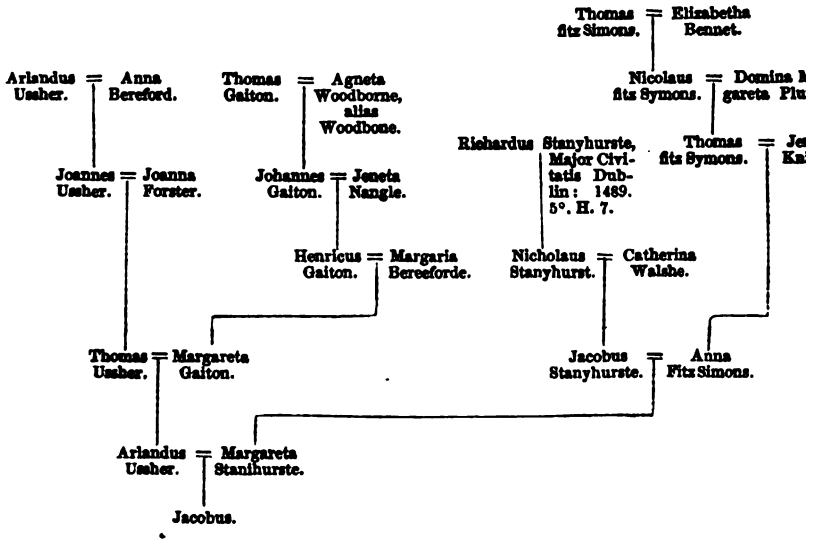


APPENDIX.

I.

GENEALOGICAL TABLE,

FROM A MANUSCRIPT IN THE HANDWRITING OF ARCHBISHOP USSHER.



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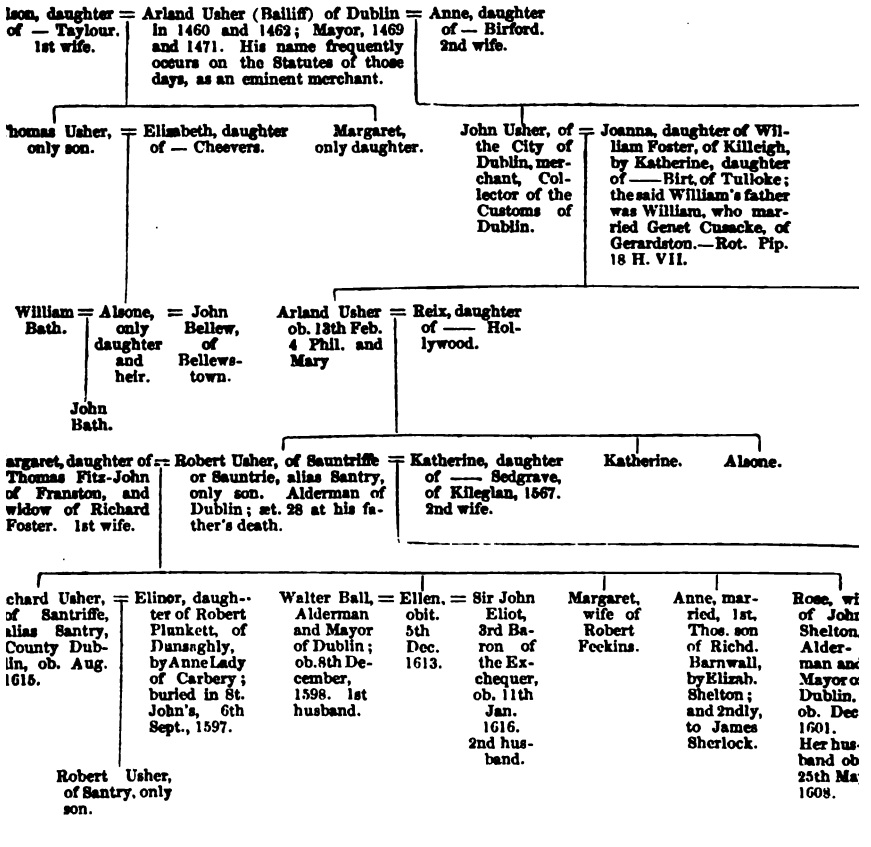


[redacted]

.MILY OF USHER,

LLIAM BETHAM,

ARMS.

Robert Usher, ob. s. p.

Philip Usher, ob. s. p.

Thomas Usher = Margaret, daughter of Henry Geydon, or Geton, Alderman and Mayor of Dublin, by Margaret Birford; she died January, 1597, having married, 2ndly, —— Shillingford; 3rdly, Richard Staine; 4thly, Sir Ambrose Forth, Knt., LL.D.

Margaret, only daughter.

John Usher, Alderman of Dublin; Sheriff, 1592; ob. 1st May, 1600. Left a natural son, Stephen. = Katherine, daughter of Patrick May, of Dublin, merchant. She married, 2nd, Thomas Bishoppe, of Dublin, Alderman, and died 17th June, 1616.

Lawrence Usher, of Dublin, merchant. = Margaret, daughter of John White, Sheriff of Dublin; ob. 26th Ap. 1603.

Robert Usher.

Arland Usher; ob. infans.

Elizabeth, only dau. married, 1st, to Edward Catling; 2ndly, to Christop. Lynch, of Crobuy, Recorder of Drogheda, qui ob. 29th Mar. 1613; leaving issue by her 2 sons and 10 daughts.

Walter Usher, Alderman of Dublin, Oct. 12, 1600. Will dated 31st March, 1636. = Mary, daugh. of — Kennedy. Will dated 20th Nov. 1661.

Amy, wife of Robert Mapas, of Dublin, merchant; ille ob. 8th Jan. 1618; 2ndly, of John Nolan.

George Usher, of Dublin. Will dated 28th June, 1671. = Alson, dau. of Patrick Gough, of Dublin, Alderman.

Christopher.

Matthew.

John.

—— wife of —— Brice, by whom she had a son, Richard.

Patrick.

John.

Ignatius.

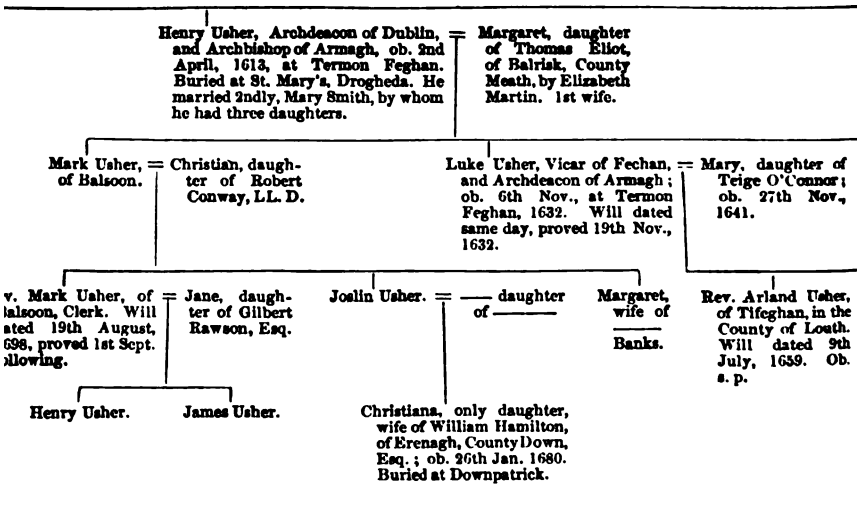
Walter.

Anne.

Barbara.

Mary.

APPENDIX I.


Henry Usher, Archdeacon of Dublin, and Archbishop of Armagh, ob. 2nd April, 1613, at Termon Feghan. Buried at St. Mary's, Drogheda. He married 2ndly, Mary Smith, by whom he had three daughters.
Margaret, daughter of Thomas Eliot, of Balrisk, County Meath, by Elizabeth Martin. 1st wife.
Mark Usher, of Balsoon.
Christian, daughter of Robert Conway, LL. D.
Luke Usher, Vicar of Fechan, and Archdeacon of Armagh; ob. 6th Nov., at Termon Feghan, 1632. Will dated same day, proved 19th Nov., 1632.
Mary, daughter of Teige O'Connor; ob. 27th Nov., 1641.
v. Mark Usher, of lalsoon, Clerk. Will ated 19th August, 698, proved 1st Sept. ollowing.
Jane, daughter of Gilbert Rawson, Esq.
Joslin Usher.
—— daughter of ——
Margaret, wife of —— Banks.
Rev. Arland Usher, of Tifeghan, in the County of Louth. Will dated 9th July, 1659. Ob. s. p.
Henry Usher.
James Usher.
Christiana, only daughter, wife of William Hamilton, of Erenagh, County Down, Esq.; ob. 26th Jan. 1680. Buried at Downpatrick.

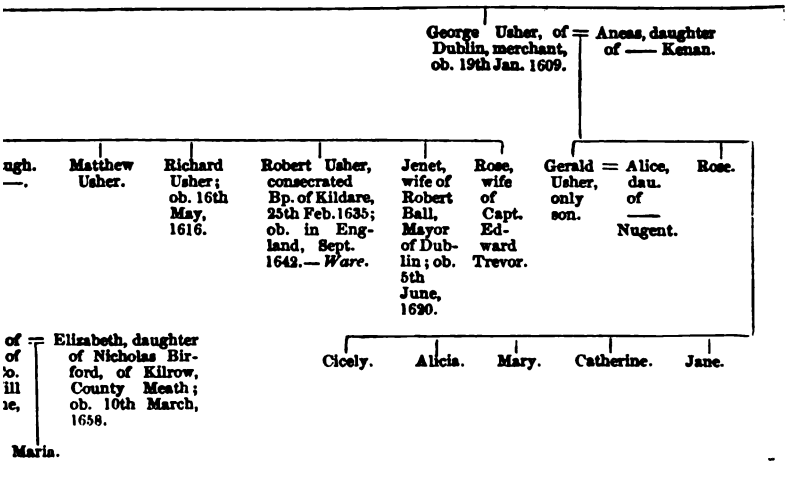
[redacted]

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF USSHER.

Thomas Usher.

- Christopher Usher, ob. s. p.
- Tobit Usher = Margaret, daughter of ——
  - Dorothy, wife of Joseph Travers, of Benborb, County Tyrone, Esq.
- Francis Usher.
  - Susan, wife of Gregory Wright, Archdeacon of Dromore.
- William Usher = Margaret, daughter of Capt. John Park, of Dungannon, County Tyrone.
- Margaret, wife of Edward Donnelan, D. D.
  - Christian, wife of Benjamin Bolton, Esq., youngest son of Richard Bolton, Cancell. Hib.

APPENDIX I.


George Usher, of Dublin, merchant, ob. 19th Jan. 1609.
Aneas, daughter of —— Kenan.
ugh. —.
Matthew Usher.
Richard Usher; ob. 16th May, 1616.
Robert Usher, consecrated Bp. of Kildare, 25th Feb. 1635; ob. in England, Sept. 1642.— Ware.
Jenet, wife of Robert Ball, Mayor of Dublin; ob. 5th June, 1620.
Rose, wife of Capt. Edward Trevor.
Gerald Usher, only son.
Alice, dau. of —— Nugent.
Rose.
of of o. ill ie,
Elizabeth, daughter of Nicholas Birford, of Kilrow, County Meath; ob. 10th March, 1658.
Cicely.
Alicia.
Mary.
Catherine.
Jane.
Maria.

[redacted]

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF USSHER.

Arnoldus, or Arland Usher; ob. 12th, and bur. 20th Aug. 1598, in St. Werburgh's church, Dublin. = Margaret, daugh. of James Stanihurst, Recorder of Dublin, by Anne Fitzsimons.

Christopher Usher, Ulster Rex Armorum totius Hiberniæ, Archdeacon of Armagh; ob. circ. 25th June, 1597.

Katherine, a virgin.

John = Rex. = ——— Garvey, Dean of Christ Church, Archdeacon of Meath.

ohn sher; s. p.

James Usher, Archbishop of Armagh, and Primate and Metropolitan of all Ireland. = Phœbe, daughter of Luke Challoner, D. D.

——, only child, wife of Sir Timothy Tyrrell, Knt.

Ambrose Usher.

Margaret, married to Robert Bermingham.

Mable, wife to Dr. Lewis Jones, Bp. of Kildare.

Anne, wife of William Hilton.

Sarah, wife of Theophilus Buckworth, Bp. of Dromore; he died 1652.

Ellinor, wife of Robert Lill, of Trim, Esq.; he died 22nd Nov. 1640.

Thomasine.

Elizabe

APPENDIX I.

Maud = Darcy; ob. Jan. 1523–4, s. p. 1st wife.

Christopher Usher, Bailiff of Dublin, anno 1500, and Mayor, annis 1518 et 1524; ob. 30th January, 1525-6, 16th Henry VIII.; also Customer and Collector of the Port of Dublin.—*Lodge, MS.* = Alsone, younger daughter of Thomas Fitz-Williams of Bray and Meryon. She married 2ndly, James Fitz-Simmons, of Dublin, merchant; and 3rdly, James Segrave, Alderman of Dublin. 2nd wife.

John Usher, of the City of Dublin, merchant, Alderman and Mayor of the same, 1561; æt. 2 at his father's death, 1525. Had livery 1st March, 38 Henry VIII. Inq. P. M. and Rot. Pip. 38 Hen. VIII. Ob. 1st May, 1600. = Alsone, or Alis, daughter of Sir William Newman, Alderman and Mayor of Dublin; ob. January, 1601, buried 26th of same month.

r Usher, ang.

Margaret, daughter of Edward Cludde, of Orleton, County of Salop, Esq., and widow of George Goodman, of Saint John's, Gent.; ob. 8th Sept. 1603, s. p. 2nd wife. = Sir William Usher, of Donnybrook, near Dublin. Born 1588. Clerk of the Council. Knighted by Sir George Cary, L. D., 25th July, 1603. Will dated 28th December, 1657, proved 26th August, 1659. = Isabella, 2nd daughter of Adam Loftus, Lord Archbishop of Dublin and Chancellor of Ireland; ob. 11th, and buried 13th Nov. 1597.

rthur Usher, of Donnybrook, drowned in the river of said place, 2nd Mar. 1628, v. patris. = Judith, eldest daughter of Sir Robert Newcomen, Knt., by Katherine, dau. of Thomas Molyneux, Chancellor of the Exchequer; ob. 30th July, 1652, and buried Sept. in St. Owen's, Dublin.

Adam Usher, Ulster King of Arms, 1632; ob. 1st July, 1633.

Mary, married to William Crofton, of Temple House, County of Sligo, Esq.

= Sir Wm. Usher, of Bridgefoot, Dublin, Knt., 26th May, 1636, lived at the Castle of Grange, in Co. Wicklow; died 23rd Apr. 1671, seized of Portraine, in County Dublin, buried 23rd Ap. 1671. = Ursula, only daughter of Capt. Geo. St. Barbe, of the House of White Parish, in Wiltsh., by Mary, daughter of Edw.. Warburton, descended of the House of Arly, in Cheshire, and Cornish, in Flintshire. 2nd wife; married 14th May, 1645.

James, died young.

John, ob. s. p.

Adam, died young.

Joane, daughter of Sir Percy Smith, Knt. 1st wife. = Beverly Usher, Esq., of Killmeadon in Co. Waterford; ob. 1683.

= Grace, daughter of Sir Richard Osborne, of Ballynlayton, Co. Waterford, Bart. 2nd wife.

Christopher Usher, of Dublin, Esq.; ob. Jan. 1706, bur. 10th June, 1706, in St. Audeon's. Will dated 2nd August, 1701, proved 15th January, 1706. = Martha, daughter of Thomas Piggot, of Long-Ashton, in Somerset, Esq., Master of Wards in Ireland.

Margaret, married to —— Nevil; both died in 1682.

Judith, married to Sir John Wemys, Knt. She died 11th Oct. 1674, and left 2 daughters.

Elizabeth, died young.

Usher, h Jan. ried in leon's; n and = Letitia, daut. and co-heir of Sir Henry Waring, of Waringston; ob. 6th Nov. 1732.

Henry Usher, Esq., Barrister at Law; ob. s. p. = Frances, daut. of Sir Henry Waring, of Waringston; married 1739.

Nehemiah Donnelan, Chief Baron of the Exchequer. = Martha; ob. July, 1797, bu. in Saint Audeon's. = Philip Percival, brother of John Earl of Egmont.

Henry, s. p.

Christopher, s. p.

John, s. p.

Martha, wife of Anthony

Florence.

Elizabeth.

Mary-Anne.

[redacted]

GENEALOGY OF THE FAMILY OF USSHER.

Jane, married to Daniel Molyneux, Ulster King of Arms, who died 13th June, 1633. She died 17th May, 1674, having had issue 4 sons, Thomas, William, Samuel, Adam, and 3 daughters.

Margaret, married to Sir Beverly Newcomen, Bt. and son of Sir Rt. Newcomen, Knt., by Catherine, daught. of Thomas Molyneux, Chancellor of the Exchequer.

Alicia, married to Sir Thos. Phillips, of Newtown Limavady, Knt. She died 1st April, 1671.

Eleanor, mar. Sir Christopher Foster, Knt., Alderman & Mayor of Dublin.

Anne, wife Meredyt cellor o quer in I of Dr. E Bp. of L died 12t He died 1668.

Christopher Usher, died young.

Philip Usher, died young.

Arthur Usher.

Margaret, married to Sir Paul Davis, Kt. Clerk of the Council. She died 20th July, 1633.

Katherine, married to Sir Philip Percivall, Knt., ancestor of Lord Egmont. She died 2nd Jan. 1681.

Isabella, married to Sir Percy Smith.

Alice, marr Theophilus Osbertstow Kildare, Kt Dr. Lewis J of Killaloe, daughter o Usher and Stanihurst January, 16

John Usher, of Monaghan; ob. 10th March, 1645, Barrister at Law.

= Alice, daughter of Samuel Molyneux, of Buttessey, 3rd son of Daniel Molyneux, Ulst. King of Arms, and Jane Usher, daught. of Sir William Usher, Clerk of the Council.

William Usher; ob. 25th November, 1647.

Rev. Adam Usher.

= Rebecca Wye; ob. 8th Aug. 1695.

Arthur Usher.

John Usher, Esq., son and heir.

Christopher, Samuel, William, William, Thos., b. 1704, ob. s. p.

Letitia, Alice, Jane.

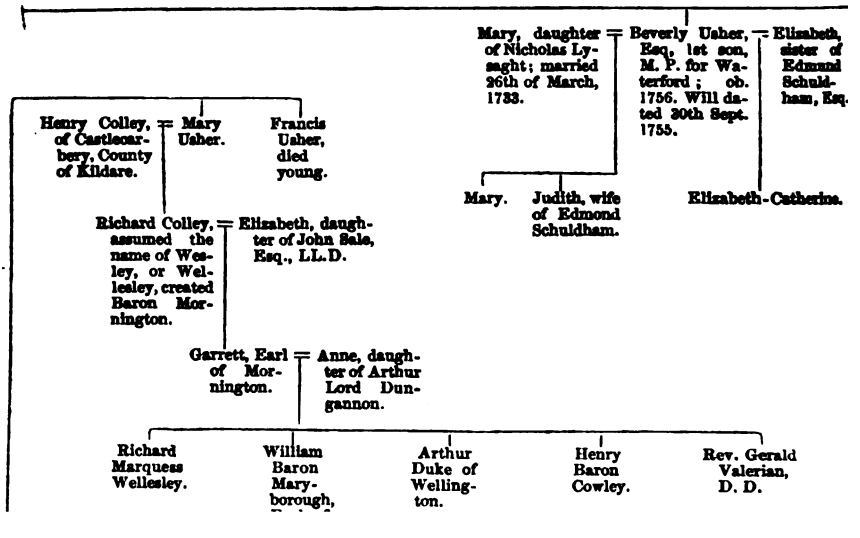
Others, ob. s. p.

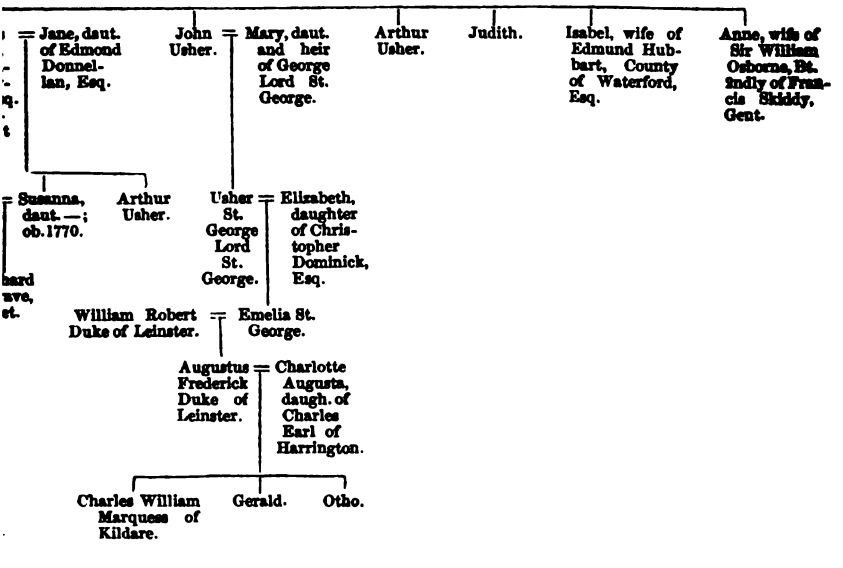
John Usher, ob. s. p.

Martha Cope.

= Rev. Frederick Usher, Minister of Clontarf; ob. 1766.

Adam, William, Charles, Arthur.


Mary, daughter of Nicholas Lysaght; married 26th of March, 1733.
Beverly Usher, Esq., 1st son, M. P. for Waterford; ob. 1756. Will dated 30th Sept. 1755.
Elizabeth, sister of Edmund Schuldham, Esq.
Henry Colley, of Castlecarbery, County of Kildare.
Mary Usher.
Francis Usher, died young.
Mary.
Judith, wife of Edmond Schuldham.
Elizabeth-Catherine.
Richard Colley, assumed the name of Wesley, or Wellesley, created Baron Mornington.
Elizabeth, daughter of John Sale, Esq., LL.D.
Garrett, Earl of Mornington.
Anne, daughter of Arthur Lord Dungannon.
Richard Marquess Wellesley.
William Baron Maryborough,
Arthur Duke of Wellington.
Henry Baron Cowley.
Rev. Gerald Valerian, D. D.


= Jane, daut. of Edmond Donnellan, Esq.
John Usher.
= Mary, daut. and heir of George Lord St. George.
Arthur Usher.
Judith.
Isabel, wife of Edmund Hubbart, County of Waterford, Esq.
Anne, wife of Sir William Osborne, Bt. 2ndly of Francis Skiddy, Gent.
= Susanna, daut. —; ob. 1770.
Arthur Usher.
Usher St. George Lord St. George.
= Elizabeth, daughter of Christopher Dominick, Esq.
William Robert Duke of Leinster.
= Emelia St. George.
Augustus Frederick Duke of Leinster.
= Charlotte Augusta, daugh. of Charles Earl of Harrington.
Charles William Marquess of Kildare.
Gerald.
Otho.

II.

AN

ACCOUNT OF THE COMMENCEMENT

HELD ON THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1614.

AN

ACCOUNT OF THE COMMENCEMENT

HELD ON THE 18TH OF AUGUST, 1614,

AS GIVEN IN THE CHRONICLE OF LORD CHICHESTER'S GOVERNMENT OF IRELAND.—*Desid. Cur. Hib.* p. 316.

THE 18th of August, there was a great Commencement holden in the University at Dublin, but because the rooms in the Trinity College were very small, they held their acts of disputation in the high choir of St. Patrick's church, and there proceeded that day five doctors in theology, viz.:

Dr. Jones, Lord Chancellor,
Dr. King, Bishop of Elphin, } by grace.

Dr. Usher,
Dr. Richardson,
Dr. Walsh, } in publick disputation.

Batchelors of Divinity, 3.
Masters of the Arts, 15.
Batchelors of the Arts, 17.

The whole number of graduates at this Commencement, 38; besides three that were incorporated.

The manner of this Commencement was accomplished in this order: first, Dr. Hampton, Lord Archbishop of Armagh and Primate of all Ireland, who having many years before proceeded Doctor in Theology at the University in Cambridge, was now at this Commencement incorporated into the University of Dublin, and was the Senior Doctor Cathedral and Moderator of theological acts in the Commencement; so upon the day appointed, viz., the 18th day of August, the said Dr. Hampton, Lord Primate, together with the Provost, Fellows, and Scholars of the house, passed from the College, through the City of

Dublin, in very stately order; for the Lord Primate, and other ancient Doctors, and also those that were to proceed Doctors, were every one attired in scarlet robes, with their Doctors' hoods; also the Batchelors of Divinity, the Masters and Batchelors of Arts were attired in other scholar-like attire as appertained, which made a very beautiful show to the sight of all men; and they were further most highly graced with the presence of the Lord Deputy, the Lord Chancellor, Sir Thomas Ridgway, Knt., Treasurer, and Treasurer at War, with divers others of the Council, who followed after them, and sat in St. Patrick's Church, to hear their disputation and discourses, which were performed as followeth:

First, when they were entered the choir of St. Patrick's Church, the Masters and Batchelors of Arts sat down in their places appointed for them, every one according to his degree; likewise Dr. Dun, being a Doctor in the Civil Law, and Vice-Chancellor of the University, took his place, which was appointed for him in the choir; and then Mr. Anthony Martin, Proctor for the College, ascended up into one of the pulpits, as Moderator of the philosophical acts. And the Lord Primate, who was father for the day of the theological acts, with those three which were to proceed in the publick disputations, as also two Batchelors of Divinity, did ascend up to their places which were appointed for them on the right side of the choir. And when the Lord Deputy, and the Lord Chancellor, and the Council, were set, and all things in good order, Dr. Dun, the Vice-Chancellor of the University, began an oration in Latin, being as a general introduction into all the acts of that day's disputation, which he performed learnedly; and when he ended his oration, the Primate began another oration in Latin, concerning the acts of Divinity, and those that were to proceed Doctors.

This oration contained a long discourse wherein he administered five academical ceremonies, as here do follow in order:

1. He set them in his chair.
2. He gave them square caps.
3. He delivered them the Bible.
4. He put rings upon their fingers.

These ceremonies ministered severally to each of them, first to Dr. Usher, then to Dr. Richardson, and lastly, to Dr. Walsh; and the Lord Primate expounded to them the signification of each ceremony.

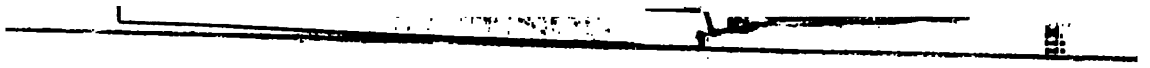
This manner of Commencement was never used in Ireland before this time. Now, all things being thus performed by the Lord Primate, as is said, Dr. Usher went down into the choir, and ascended up into one of the pulpits, where he made a sermon-like oration upon the text, "Hoc est corpus meum;" and after a long discourse thereon, the other two Doctors, viz., Dr. Richardson and Dr. Walsh, disputed with Dr. Usher upon the same point; in which disputation, the Lord Primate, who was the father of this theological act, was also Moderator in their disputation, and finishing the act, they rose up, and returned back to the Trinity College, where a stately dinner was provided for the Lord Deputy and Council. And thus were all things concerning the acts of Commencement in the University of Dublin performed and accomplished to their high commendations and credit.

The total sum of all the graduates that have commenced in this University, from the first foundation thereof to this present year, 1614, inclusive, containing the space of 23 years,

Doctors in Divinity, ...	7
Doctors in Civil Law, ...	1
Doctors in Physick, ...	1
Batchelors in Theology, ...	7
Masters of Arts, ...	38
Batchelors of Arts, ...	53
Batchelors of Music, ...	2
Total Graduates, ...	109

Besides those incorporated—3, viz., one Doctor and two Masters of Arts.

And whereas it hath pleased God, that in these few years of her infancy she hath brought forth such a learned issue, it is to be hoped for, that in her more ripe and mature years (God blessing her increase), she shall produce multitude of learned children, who shall flourish in the Church and Commonwealth, to the glory of God, and the increase of true Christian religion in Christ Jesus. Amen.



III.

A BREFE DECLARATION

OF CERTEIN

PRINCIPALL ARTICLES OF RELIGION:

SET OUT BY ORDER & AUCTHORITIE AS WELL OF THE

RIGHT HONORABLE SIR HENRY SIDNEY

KNYGHT OF THE MOST NOBLE ORDER. LORD PRESIDĒT OF THE COŪCEL IN THE PRINCIPALLITIE OF WALES AND MARCHES OF THE SAME, & GENERAL DEPUTIE OF THIS REALME OF IRELAND,

AS BY

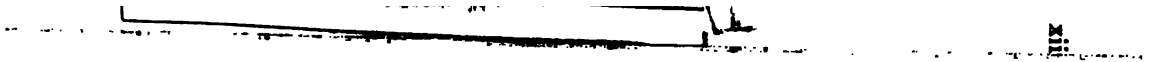
THARCHEBYSHOPS, & BYSHOPES

AND OTHER HER MAJESTIES HYGH COMMISSIONERS FOR CAUSES ECCLESIASTICALL IN THE SAME REALME.

A BREFE

Declaration of certein Principall articles of Religion: *set out by order & aucthoritie as well of the right Honorable Sir Henry Sidney Knyght of the most noble order. Lord presidēt of the Coūcel in the Principallitie of wales and Marches of the same, & general deputie of this Realme of Ireland, as by Tharchebyshops, & Byshopes & other her majesties Hygh Commissioners for causes Ecclesiasticall in the same Realme.*

Imprynted at Dublin by Humfrey Powel the 20. *of January.* 1566.



THE BOOKE.

A BREFE Declaration of certeine pryncipall Articles of Relygion set out by order and aucthoritie as wel of the Ryght Honorable Sir Henry Sidneye, Knyght of the most noble order, Lorde President of the Coũcil in the Principalitie of Wales, and Marches of the same, and generall Deputie of this Realme of Irelande—as by Tharchebyshopes and Byshopes with the rest of her Maiesties Highe Cõmissioneres for causes Ecclesiasticall in her Realme of Irelande, for the unitie of Doctrine to be holden and taught of all Persons, Vicars, and Curates, as well intestification of their cõmon consente and full agrement in the said Doctryne, as also nessessarye for the instructiõ of their people in their severall Cures, to be read by the said Persons, Vicars and Curates at their possesciõ takynge or fyrste entrie into their Cures, and also after that yerelye at two several tymes by the Yere, that is to saye: the Sũdays next folowynge Easterday and Sainct Myghell Tharchangell, and this upõ payne of Sequestration, depriation, or other cohercion, as shalbe imposed upon suche as shall herein make default.

ON ARTICLES.

Forasmuche as it appertayneth to all Chrysten men, but especially to the Ministers and the Pastours of the Churche, beyinge teachers and instructours of others, to be readye to geve a reason of their fayth when they shalbe thereunto required: I for my parte now appoynted your Parson, Vicar, or Curate, hauynge before my eyes the feare of God and the testimonye of

my conscience, doo acknowledge for my selfe, and require you to assent to the same.

¶ *The fyrste Article.*

Fyrste, that there is but one leuynge and true God, of infinit power, wysdome, and goodnesse; the maker and preseruer of al thynges; and that in unitie of this Godhead ther be thre persons of one substance, of equal power and eternitie, the Father, the Sonne, and the holye Ghost.

¶ *The second Article.*

I beleue also what soeuer is conteined in the holye canõical Scriptures, in the which Scriptur are cõteined all thynges necessary to saluation, by the which also al errours and heresies may sufficientlye be reproued and conuicted, and al doctrine and Articles necessarye to saluation established. I doo most firmlye beleue and confesse all the Articles conteined in the three Credes—the Nicène Crede, Athanasius Crede, and our cõmon Creede, called the Apostels Creede, for these doo brefly conteine the principal Articles of our faith, which are at large set foorth in the holye Scriptures.

I acknowledg also the Church to be the Spouse of Christ, wherein the word of God is truely taught, the Sacramẽtes orderly ministred accoryng to Christes institution, and the aucthoritie of the keiys duely used. And that every such perticuler Churche hath aucthoritie to institute, to chaũg, cleane to put away ceremonies and other ecclesiasticall Rites, as they be superfluõs, or be abused: and to constitute other, makyng more to semelynesse, to order or edification.

¶ *The fourth Article.*

Moreover, I confesse that it is not lawefull for any man to take upon hym anye office or ministerye, eyther ecclesiasticall or seculer, but such onely as are lawefully thereunto called by theyr hyghe aucthorities accordynge to the ordynaunces of this Realme.

¶ *The feyft Article.*

Furthermore, I doo acknowledge the Queene's Maiesties prerogative and superioritie of governemẽt of al estates and

in all causes, as wel ecclesiasticall as temporal, within this Realme, and other her Dominions and Countreyes, to be agreable to Godes wourde, and of right to appertayne to her hyghnes, in such sort as is in the late Act of Parliamēt expressed: and sithens by her Maiesties iniunctions declared and expounded.

The syxt Article.

Moreover, touchynge the Byshope of Rome, I do acknowledg and confesse, that by the Scriptures and worde of God, he hath no more aucthoritie then other Byshopes have in their Provinces and Diosseces; ād therefore the power which he now chalengeth, that is, to be the supreme head of the universal Churche of Christ, and so to be above all Emperours, Kings, and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and worde of God, and contrary to the example of the primative Church: and therfore is for most iust causes taken awaye and abolished within this Realme.

The VII. Article.

Furthermore I do graunt and cōfesse, that the boke of cōmon prayer and administration of the holye Sacramentes, set foorth by the aucthoritie of Parlyament, is agreable to the Scriptures, and that it is Catholyke, Apostolyke, and most for the advauncynge of Gods glorye and the edifiynge of Gods people, both for y^{t} it is in a toūge, y^{t} may be understāded by ye people, and also for the doctrine and forme of ministration conteyned in the same.

The VIII. Article.

And although in the administration of Baptisme, ther is neither exorcisme, oyle, salte, spittil, or halowynge of the water now used: and for y^{t} they were of late yeres abused and esteemed necessary, where they pertaine not to ye substaunce and necessitie of the Sacramēt ful and perfectly ministred to al intētes and purposes agreable to the institutiō of our Saviour Christe.

The IX. Article.

Moreover I do not onely acknowledg that privat Masses were never used amōgest the Fathers of the primitive Churche, I meane publique ministration and receavinge of ye Sacramēt by the Prieste alone without a iust number of cōmunicātes, accord-

ynge to Christes saying, Take ye and eate ye, &c., but also that the doctrine which maynteinith the Masse to be a propiciatory sacrifice for the quicke and the dead, and a meane to delyver soules out of purgatorye, is neyther agreable to Christes ordynaunce nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolycke, but contrarywise most ungodlye and most iniurious to the precious redemptiō of our Saviour Christ and his onely sufficient sacrifise offered once for ever upon the alter of the Crosse.

The X. Article.

I am of that mynde also, that the holy Cōmunion or Sacramēt of the body and bloude of Christ, for the due obediēce to Christes institution, and, to expresse the vertue of the same, ought to be mynistred unto the people under both kyndes, and that it is avouched by certaine fathers of the Church to be a playne sacriledge to robbe them of the misticall cup, for whom Christ hath shed his moste precious bloud: Seyinge he him selfe hath saied, drinke ye all of this. Consyderynge also that in the tyme of the auncyent doctours of the Church, as Ciprian, Jerome, Augustine, Gelasius, and others, vi. hundreth yeares after Christ and more, both the partes of the Sacramente were mynistred unto the people.

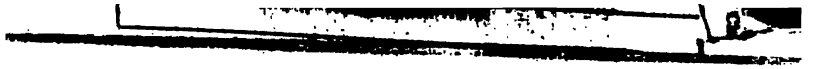
The XI. Article.

Last of al, as I do utterly disalowe the extollynge of Images, Relicks, and fayned Miracles, and also all kynde of expressinge God invisible in the forme of an olde man, or the holye ghoste in forme of a dove, and all other vayne worshippynge of God devised by mans fantasie, besydes or contrarye to the Scriptures: As wandrynge on pilgrimages, settynge upe of Candels, prayinge upō beades, and such lyke supersticion, which kynde of woorkes have no promyse of rewarde in Scripture, but cōtrary wise, threatnynges and maladictions: So I do exhorte all men to the obedyence of Godes lawe, and to the workes of fayght: As charytie, mercy, pitye, almes, devout and fervent prayer, with thaffection of the hart, and not with the mouth only, godly abstinence and fastynge, chastitie, obedyence to the rulers and superyour powers, with such lyke workes and godlynes of lyfe commaunded by God in his worde, which as Sainte Paule saith, hath promises both of this lyfe, and of the lyfe to come, and are workes only acceptable in Godes syght.

The XII. Article.

These thynges above rehearsed, though they be appoynted by common order, yet do I without all compulsion, with fredome of mynde and conscience, frome the bottome of my hart and upon most sure perswasion, acknowledge to be true and agreable to Godes worde, And therfore I exhort you al, of whom I have cure, hartelye and obedientlye to embrace and receave the same, that we all ioyning together in unitie of spirit, fayth, and charytie, may also at leangth be joyned together in the kyngdome of God, that through the merites and deathe of our Saviour Jesus Christe: to whom, with the Father and the holy Ghost be all glory and empyre now and for ever. Amen.

Imprynted at Dublin in Saint Nycolas Stret, by Humfrey Powell, Prynter appoynted for the Realme of Irelande.



IV.

ARTICLES OF RELIGION,

AGREED VPON BY

THE ARCHBISHOPS AND BISHOPS,

AND THE REST OF THE CLEARGIE OF IRELAND,

IN

THE CONUOCATION

HOLDEN AT DUBLIN IN THE YEARE OF OUR LORD GOD 1615, FOR THE AUOIDING OF DIUERSITIES OF OPINIONS, AND THE ESTABLISHING OF CONSENT TOUCHING TRUE RELIGION.

PRINTED AT DUBLIN BY JOHN FRANCKTON, PRINTER TO THE KINGS MOST EXCELLENT MAJESTIE.

1615.

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Of the holy Scripture and the three Creeds.

1. THE ground of our Religion, and the rule of faith and all sauing trueth is the word of God, contained in the holy Scripture.

2. By the name of holy Scripture we understand all the Canonicall Bookes of the Old and New Testament, viz.:

Of the Old Testament.

The 5 Bookes of Moses.	Iob.
Iosua.	Psalmes.
Iudges.	Prouerbes.
Ruth.	Ecclesiastes.
The first and second of Samuel.	The Song of Salomon.
The first and second of Kings.	Isaiah.
The first and second of Chronicles.	Ieremiah, his Prophesie and Lamentation.
Esra.	Ezechiel.
Nehemiah.	Daniel.
Esther.	The 12 lesse Prophets.

Of the new Testament.

The Gospells according to	Philippians.
Matthew.	Colossians.
Marke.	Thessalonians 2.
Luke.	Timothie 2.
Iohn.	Titus.
The Actes of the Apostles.	Philemon.
The Epistle of S. Paul to the Romaines.	Hebrewes.
Corinthians 2.	The Epistle of S. Iames.
Galathians.	Saint Peter 2.
Ephesians.	Saint Iohn. 3.
	Saint Iude.
	The Reuelation of S. Iohn.

All which wee acknowledge to be giuen by the inspiration of God, and in that regard to be of most certaine credit and highest authority.

3. The other Bookes, commonly called *Apocryphall*, did not proceede from such inspiration, and therefore are not of sufficient authoritie to establish any point of doctrine; but the Church doth reade them as Bookes containing many worthy things for example of life and instruction of maners.

Such are these following:

The thirde booke of Esdras.	Baruch, with the Epistle of Ieremiah.
The fourth booke of Esdras.	The song of the three Children.
The booke of Tobias.	Susanna.
The booke of Iudith.	Bell and the Dragon.
Additions to the booke of Esther.	The praier of Manasses.
The booke of Wisedome.	The first booke of Macchabees.
The booke of Iesus, the Sonne of Sirach, called Ecclesiasticus.	The second booke of Macchabees.

4. The Scriptures ought to be translated out of the originall tongues into all languages for the common use of all mē: neither is any person to be discouraged from reading the Bible in such a language, as he doth vnderstand, but seriously exhorted to read the same with great humilitie and reuerence, as a speciall meanes to bring him to the true knowledge of God, and of his owne duty.

5. Although there bee some hard things in the Scripture

(especially such as haue proper relation to the times in which they were first vttered, and prophesies of things which were afterwardes to bee fulfilled), yet all things necessary to be knowen vnto euerlasting saluation are cleerely deliuered therein: and nothing of that kinde is spoken vnder darke mysteries in one place, which is not in other places spoken more familiarly and plainely, to the capacitie both of learned and vnlearned.

6. The holy Scriptures containe all things necessary to saluation, and are able to instruct sufficiently in all points of faith that we are bound to beleeue, and all good duties that we are bound to practise.

7. All and euerie the Articles contained in the *Nicen Creede*, the *Creede* of *Athanasius*, and that which is commonly called the *Apostles Creede*, ought firmely to bee receiued and beleeued, for they may be proued by most certaine warrant of holy Scripture.

Of faith in the holy Trinitie.

8. There is but one liuing and true God, euerlasting, without body, parts, or passions, of infinite power, wisedome, and goodnes, the maker and preseruer of all things, both visible and inuisible. And in vnitie of this Godhead, there be three persons of one and the same substance power and eternitie: the Father, the Sone, and the holy Ghost.

9. The essence of the Father doth not begett the essence of the Sonne; but the person of the Father begetteth the person of the Sonne, by communicating his whole essence to the person begotten from eternitie.

10. The holy Ghost, proceeding from the Father and the Sonne, is of one substance, maiestie, and glory, with the Father and the Sonne, very and eternall God.

Of God's eternall decree, and Predestination.

11. God from all eternitie did by his vnchangeable counsell ordaine whatsoeuer in time should come to passe: yet so, as thereby no violence is offred to the wills of the reasonable creatures, and neither the libertie nor the contingencie of the second causes is taken away, but established rather.

12. By the same eternall counsell God hath predestinated some vnto life, and reprobated some vnto death: of both which there is a certaine number, knowen only to God, which can neither be increased nor diminished.

13. Predestination to life, is the euerlasting purpose of God,

whereby, before the foundations of the world were layed, he hath constantly decreed in his secret counsell to deliuer from curse and damnation, those whom he hath chosen in Christ out of mankinde, and to bring them by Christ vnto euerlasting saluation, as vessels made to honor.

14. The cause mouing God to predestinate vnto life, is not the foreseeing of faith, or perseuerance, or good workes, or of anything which is in the person predestinated, but onely the good pleasure of God himselfe. For all things being ordained for the manifestation of his glory, and his glory being to appeare both in the workes of his Mercy and of his Iustice: it seemed good to his heauenly wisedome to choose out a certaine number towardes whome he would extend his vndeserued mercy, leauing the rest to be spectacles of his iustice.

15. Such as are predestinated vnto life, be called according vnto Gods purpose (his spirit working in due season) and through grace they obey the calling, they bee iustified freely, they bee made sonnes of God by adoption, they be made like the image of his onely begotten Sonne Iesus Christ, they walke religiously in good workes, and at length, by God's mercy they attaine to euerlasting felicitie. But such as are not predestinated to saluation, shall finally be condemned for their sinnes.

16. The godlike consideration of Predestination and our election in Christ, is full of sweete, pleasant, and vnspeakeable comfort to godly persons, and such as feele in themselues the working of the spirit of Christ, mortifying the workes of the flesh, and their earthly members, and drawing vp their mindes to high and heauenly things: as well because it doth greatly confirme and establish their faith of eternall saluation to be enioyed through Christ, as because it doth feruently kindle their loue towardes God: and on the contrary side, for curious and carnall persons, lacking the spirit of Christ, to haue continually before their eies the sentence of Gods predestination, is very dangerous.

17. Wee must receiue Gods promises in such wise as they be generally set forth vnto vs in holy Scripture; and in our doings, that will of God is to be followed, which we haue expressely declared vnto vs in the word of God.

Of the creation and gouernement of all things.

18. In the beginning of time, when no creature had any being, God by his word alone, in the space of sixe dayes, created

all things, and afterwardes by his prouidence doth continue, propagate, and order them according to his owne will.

19. The principall creatures are Angels and men.

20. Of Angels, some continued in that holy state wherein they were created, and are by Gods grace for euer established therein: others fell from the same, and are reserued in chaines of darkenesse vnto the iudgement of the great day.

21. Man being at the beginning created according to the image of God (which consisted especially in the Wisedome of his minde and the true Holyness of his free will) had the couenant of the lawe ingrafted in his heart: whereby God did promise vnto him euerlasting life, vpon condition that he performed entire and perfect obedience vnto his Commandements, according to that measure of strength wherewith hee was endued in his creation, and threatned death vnto him if he did not performe the same.

Of the fall of man, originall sinne, and the state of man before iustification.

22. By one man sinne entred into the world, and death by sinne; and so death went ouer all men, for as much as all haue sinned.

23. Originall sinne standeth not in the imitation of Adam (as the Pelagians dreame) but is the fault and corruption of the nature of euery person that naturally is ingendred and propagated from Adam: whereby it commeth to passe that man is depriued of originall righteousnes, and by nature is bent vnto sinne. And therefore, in euery person borne into the world, it deserueth Gods wrath and damnation.

24. This corruption of nature doth remaine euen in those that are regenerated, whereby the flesh alwaies lusteth against the spirit, and cannot bee made subject to the lawe of God. And howsoeuer, for Christs sake there bee no condemnation to such as are regenerate and doe beleeue: yet doth the Apostle acknowledge that in it selfe this concupiscence hath the nature of sinne.

25. The condition of man after the fall of Adam is such, that he cannot turne, and prepare himselfe by his owne naturall strength and good workes, to faith, and calling vpon God. Wherefore we haue no power to doe good workes, pleasing and acceptable vnto God, without the grace of God preuenting vs, that we may haue a good will, and working with vs when wee haue that good will.

26. Workes done before the grace of Christ, and the inspiration of his spirit, are not pleasing vnto God, for as much as they spring not of faith in Iesus Christ, neither do they make men meete to receaue grace, or (as the Schoole Authors say) deserue grace of congruitie: yea rather, for that they are not done in such sorte as God hath willed and commaunded them to be done, we doubt not but they are sinfull.

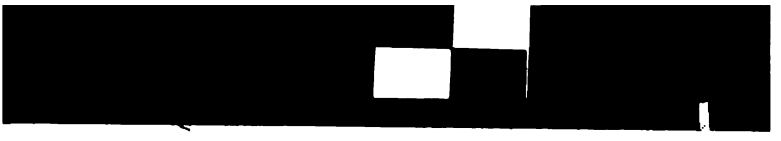
27. All sinnes are not equall, but some farre more heynous than others; yet the very least is of its owne nature mortall, and without Gods mercy maketh the offendor lyable vnto euerlasting damnation.

28. God is not the Author of sinne: howbeit he doth not only permitt, but also by his prouidence gouerne and order the same, guiding it in such sorte by his infinite wisedome, as it turneth to the manifestation of his owne glory and to the good of his elect.

Of Christ, the mediator of the second Covenant.

29. The Sonne, which is the Word of the Father, begotten from euerlasting of the Father, the true and eternall God, of one substance with the Father, tooke mans nature in the wombe of the blessed Virgin, of her substance: so that two whole and perfect natures, that is to say, the Godhead and Manhoode were inseparably ioyned in one person, making one Christ very God and very man.

30. Christ in the truth of our nature, was made like vnto vs in all things, sinne only excepted, from which he was cleerely voyd, both in his life and in his nature. He came as a Lambe without spott, to take away the sins of the world, by the sacrifice of himselfe once made, and sinne (as *Saint Iohn* saith) was not in him. He fulfilled the law for vs perfectly: For our sakes he endured most greiuous torments immediately in his soule, and most painefull sufferings in his body. He was crucified, and dyed to reconcile his Father vnto vs, and to be a sacrifice not onely for originall guilt, but also for all our actuall transgressions. He was buried and descended into hell, and the third day rose from the dead, and tooke againe his body, with flesh, bones, and all things appertaining to the perfection of mans nature: wherewith he ascended into Heauen, and there sitteth at the right hand of his Father, vntill hee returne to iudge all men at the last day.



Of the communicating of the grace of Christ.

31. They are to be condemned, that presume to say that euery man shalbe saued by the law or sect which he professeth, so that he be diligent to frame his life according to that law, and the light of nature. For holy Scripture doth set out vnto vs only the name of Iesus Christ whereby men must be saued.

32. None can come vnto Christ, vnlesse it bee giuen vnto him, and vnlesse the Father drawe him. And all men are not so drawen by the Father that they may come vnto the Son. Neither is there such a sufficient measure of grace vouchsafed unto euerie man whereby he is enabled to come vnto everlasting life.

33. All Gods elect are in their time inseperablye vnited vnto Christ by the effectuall and vitall influence of the holy Ghost, deriued from him as from the head vnto euery true member of his mysticall body. And being thus made one with Christ, they are truely regenerated, and made partakers of him and all his benefits.

Of Iustification and Faith.

34. We are accounted righteous before God, onely for the merit of our Lord and Saviour Iesus Christ, applied by faith: and not for our owne workes or merits. And this righteousnes, which we so receiue of Gods mercie and Christs merits, imbraced by faith, is taken, accepted, and allowed of God, for our perfect and full iustification.

35. Although this iustification be free vnto vs, yet it commeth not so freely vnto vs, that there is no ransome paid therefore at all. God shewed his great mercie in deliuering vs from our former captiuitie, without requiring of any ransome to be payd, or amends to be made on our parts; which thing by vs had been vnpossible to bee done. And whereas all the world was not able of themselues to pay any part towards their ransome, it pleased our heavenly Father of his infinite mercie without any desert of ours, to prouide for vs the most precious merits of his owne Sonne, whereby our ransome might be fully payd, the lawe fulfilled, and his iustice fully satisfied. So that Christ is now the righteousnes of all them that truely beleeue in him. Hee for them payd their ransome by his death. He for them fulfilled the lawe in his life. That now in him, and by him euerie true Christian man may be called a fulfiller of the lawe: forasmuch as that which our infirmitie was not able to effect, Christs ius-

him, to honour his holy Name and his word, and to serue him truely all the dayes of our life.

47. In all our necessities we ought to haue recourse vnto God by prayer : assuring our selues, that whatsoeuer we aske of the Father, in the name of his Sonne (our onely mediator and intercessor) Christ Iesus, and according to his will, he will vndoubtedly grant it.

48. Wee ought to prepare our hearts before wee pray, and vnderstand the things that wee aske when wee pray: that both our hearts and voyces may together sound in the eares of Gods Maiestie.

49. When almightie God smiteth vs with affliction, or some great calamitie hangeth ouer vs, or any other waighty cause so requireth; it is our dutie to humble our selues in fasting, to bewaile our sinnes with a sorrowfull heart, and to addict our selues to earnest prayer, that it might please God to turne his wrath from vs, or supplie vs with such graces as wee greatly stand in neede of.

50. Fasting is a with-holding of meat, drincke, and all naturall foode, with other outward delights, from the body, for the determined time of fasting. As for those abstinences which are appointed by publike order of our state, for eating of fish and forbearing of flesh at certaine times and daies appointed, they are no wayes ment to bee religious fastes, nor intended for the maintenance of any superstition in the choise of meates, but are groũded meerely vpon politicke considerations, for prouision of things tending to the better preseruation of the Commonwealth.

51. Wee must not fast with this perswasion of minde, that our fasting can bring vs to heauen, or ascribe holynesse to the outward worke wrought. For God alloweth not our fast for the worke sake (which of it selfe is a thing meerely indifferent), but chiefly respecteth the heart, how it is affected therein. It is therefore requisit that first before all things we clense our hearts from sinne, and then direct our fast to such ends as God will allow to bee good: that the flesh may thereby be chastised, the spirit may be more feruent in prayer, and that our fasting may bee a testimony of our humble submission to Gods maiestie, when wee acknowledge our sinnes vnto him, and are inwardly touched with sorrowfulnesse of heart, bewailing the same in the affliction of our bodies.

52. All worship deuised by mans phantasie, besides or contrary to the Scriptures (as wandring on Pilgrimages, setting vp of Candles, Stations, and Iubilies, Pharisaicall sects and fained

religions, praying vpon Beades, and such like superstition) hath not onely no promise of reward in Scripture, but contrariewise threatnings and maledictions.

53. All manner of expressing God the Father, the Sonne, and the holy Ghost, in an outward forme, is vtterly vnlawfull. As also all other images deuised or made by man to the use of Religion.

54. All religious worship ought to bee giuen to God alone; from whome all goodnesse, health, and grace ought to be both asked and looked for, as from the very author and giuer of the same, and from none other.

55. The name of God is to be vsed with all reuerēce and holy respect: and therefore all vaine and rash swearing is vtterly to be condemned. Yet notwithstanding vpon lawfull occasions, an oath may be giuen, and taken, according to the word of God, *iustice, iudgement, and truth.*

56. The first day of the weeke, which is the *Lords day*, is wholly to be dedicated unto the seruice of God: and therefore we are bound therein to rest from our common and daily buysinesse, and to bestow that leasure vpon holy exercises, both publike and priuate.

Of the Ciuill Magistrate.

57. The Kings Maiestie vnder God hath the Soueraigne and chiefe power, within his Realmes and Dominions, ouer all manner of persons, of what estate, either Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, soeuer they bee; so as no other forraine power hath or ought to haue any superiority ouer them.

58. Wee doe professe that the supreame gouernement of all estates within the said Realmes and Dominions, in all causes, as well Ecclesiasticall as Temporall, doth of right appertaine to the Kings highnes. Neither doe we giue vnto him hereby the administration of the Word and Sacraments, or the power of the Keyes: but that prerogatiue onely, which we see to haue been alwaies giuen vnto all godly Princes in holy Scripture by God himselfe; that is, that hee should containe all estates and degree committed to his charge by God, whether they be Ecclesiasticall or Ciuill, within their duty, and restraine the stubborne and euill doers with the power of the Ciuill swoorde.

59. The Pope neither of himselfe, nor by any authoritie of the Church or Sea of Rome, or by any other meanes with any other, hath any power or authoritie to depose the King, or dispose any of his Kingdomes or Dominions, or to authorise any other Prince

to inuade or annoy him or his Countries, or to discharge any of his subiects of their allegeance and obedience to his Maiestie, or to giue licence or leaue to any of them to beare armes, raise tumult, or to offer any violence or hurt to his Royall person, state, or gouernement, or to any of his subiects within his Maiestics Dominions.

60. That Princes which be excommunicated or depriued by the Pope, may be deposed or murthered by their subiects, or any other whatsoeuer, is impious doctrine.

61. The lawes of the Realme may punish Christian men with death for heynous and grieuous offences.

62. It is lawfull for Christian men, at the commandement of the Magistrate, to beare armes, and to serve in iust wars.

Of our duty towards our Neighbours.

63. Ovr duty towards our neighbours is, to loue them as our selues, and to do to all men as we would they should doe to us; to honourand obey our Superiours, to preserue the safety of mens persons, as also their chastitie, goods, and good names; to beare no malice nor hatred in our hearts; to keepe our bodies in temperance, sobernes, and chastitie; to be true and iust in all our doings; not to couet other mens goodes, but labour truely to get our owne liuing, and to doe our dutie in that estate of life vnto which it pleaseth God to call us.

64. For the preseruation of the chastitie of mens persons, wedlocke is commaunded vnto all men that stand in need thereof. Neither is there any prohibition by the word of God, but that the ministers of the Church may enter into the state of Matrimony: they being no where commaunded by Gods Law, either to vow the estate of single life, or to abstaine from marriage. Therefore it is lawfull also for thē, as well as for all other Christian men, to marrie at their owne discretion, as they shall iudge the same to serue better to godlines.

65. The riches and goodes of Christians are not common, as touching the right, title, and possession of the same: as certaine Anabaptists falsely affirme. Notwithstanding euerie man ought of such things as hee possesseth, liberally to giue almes to the poore, according to his ability.

66. Faith giuen, is to be kept, even with Hereticks and Infidells.

67. The Popish doctrine of Equiuocation & mentall Reseruation, is most vngodly, and tendeth plainely to the subuersion of all humaine society.

Of the Church, and outward ministery of the Gospell.

68. There is but one Catholike Church (out of which there is no saluation) containing the uniuersall cõpany of all the Saints that euer were, are, or shalbe, gathered together in one body, vnder one head Christ Iesus: part whereof is already in heaven *triumphant*, part as yet *militant* heere vpon earth. And because this Church consisteth of all those, and those alone, which are elected by God vnto saluation, & regenerated by the power of his spirit, the number of whome is knowen only vnto God himselfe: therefore it is called the *Catholike* or vniversall, and the *Inuisible* Church.

69. But particular and visible Churches (consisting of those who make profession of the faith of Christ, and liue vnder the outward meanes of saluation) be many in number: wherein the more or lesse sincerly according to Christs institution, the word of God is taught, the Sacraments are administred, and the authority of the Keyes is vsed, the more or lesse pure are such Churches to bee accounted.

70. Although in the visible Church the euill bee euer mingled with the good, and sometimes the euill haue chiefe authoritie in the ministration of the word & Sacraments: yet, for as much as they doe not the same in their owne name, but in Christs, and minister by his commission and authority, we may vse their ministery both in hearing the word and in receauing the Sacraments. Neither is the effect of Christs ordinance taken away by their wickednesse: nor the grace of Gods gifts diminished from such as by faith and rightly doe receaue the Sacraments ministred vnto them; which are effectuall, because of Christs institution and promise, although they be ministred by euill men. Neuerthelesse it appertaineth to the discipline of the Church, that inquiry be made of euill ministers, and that they be accused by those that haue knowledge of their offences, and finally being found guiltie, by iust iudgement bee deposed.

71. It is not lawfull for any man to take vpon him the office of publike preaching or ministring the Sacraments in the Church, vnless hee bee first lawfully called and sent to execute the same. And those we ought to iudge lawfully called and sent, which bee chosen and called to this worke by men who haue publike authoritie giuen them in the Church, to call and send ministers into the Lords vineyard.

72. To haue publike prayer in the Church, or to administer

the Sacraments in a tongue not vnderstood of the people, is a thing plainly repugnant to the word of God, and the custome of the Primitiue Church.

73. That person which by publike denunciation of the Church is rightly cut off from the vnitie of the Church, and excommunicate, ought to bee taken of the whole multitude of the faithfull, as a Heathen and Publican, vntill by Repentance he be openly reconciled and receaued into the Church, by the iudgement of such as haue authoritie in that behalfe.

74. God hath giuen power to his ministers, not simply to forgiue sinnes, (which prerogatiue he hath reserued onely to himselfe) but in his name to declare and pronounce vnto such as truely repent and vnfainedly beleeue his holy Gospell, the absolution and forgiuenesse of sinnes. Neither is it Gods pleasure that his people should bee tied to make a particular confession of all their knowen sinnes vnto any mortall man: howsoeuer any person grieued in his conscience, vpon any speciall cause, may well resorte vnto any godly and learned Minister, to receaue aduise and comfort at his hands.

Of the authoritie of the Church, generall Councells, and Bishop of Rome.

75. It is not lawfull for the Church to ordaine any thing that is contrary to Gods word: neither may it so expound one place of Scripture, that it be repugnant to another. Wherefore although the Church bee a witnesse, and a keeper of holy writt: yet as it ought not to decree any thing against the same, so besides the same ought it not inforce any thing to be beleeued vpon necessitie of saluation.

76. Generall Councells may not be gathered together without the commaundement and will of Princes; and when they be gathered together (for as much as they be an assembly of men not alwaies gouerned with the spirit and word of God) they may erre, and sometimes haue erred, euen in things pertaining to the rule of pietie. Wherefore things ordained by them, as necessary to saluation, haue neither strength nor authority, vnlesse it may be shewed that they bee taken out of holy Scriptures.

77. Euery particular Church hath authority to institute, to change, and cleane to put away ceremonies and other Ecclesiasticall rites, as they be superfluous, or be abused; and to constitute other, makeing more to seemelynes, to order, or edification.

78. As the Churches of *Ierusalem*, *Alexandria* and *An-*

tioch haue erred: so also the Church of *Rome* hath erred, not onely in those things which concerne matter of practise and point of ceremonies, but also in matters of faith.

79. The power which the Bishop of *Rome* now challengeth, to be Supreame head of the vniversall Church of Christ, and to be aboue all Emperours, Kings and Princes, is an usurped power, contrary to the Scriptures and word of God, and contrary to the example of the Primitiue Church: and therefore is for most iust causes taken away and abolished within the Kings Maiesties Realmes and Dominions.

80. The Bishop of Rome is so farre from being the supreame head of the vniuersall Church of Christ, that his workes and doctrine doe plainely discover him to bee *that man of sinne*, foretold in the holy Scriptures, *whome the Lord shall consume with the spirit of his mouth, and abolish with the brightnes of his comming*.

Of the State of the old and new Testament.

81. In the Old Testament the Commaundements of the Law were more largely, and the promises of Christ more sparingly and darkely propounded, shaddowed with a multitude of types and figures, and so much the more generally and obscurely deliuered, as the manifesting of them was further off.

82. The Old Testament is not contrary to the New. For both in the Old and New Testament euerlasting life is offered to mankinde by Christ, who is the onely mediator betweene God and man, being both God and man. Wherefore they are not to be heard, which faine that the old Fathers did looke onely for trāsitory promises. For they looked for all benefits of God the Father through the merits of his Sonne Iesus Christ, as we now doe: onely they beleeued in Christ which should come, we in Christ already come.

83. The New Testament is full of grace and truth, bringing ioyfull tidings vnto mankinde, that whatsoeuer formerly was promised of Christ, is now accomplished: and so in stead of the auncient types and ceremonies, exhibiteth the things themselues, with a large and cleere declaration of all the benefits of the Gospell. Neither is the ministery thereof restrained any longer to one circumcised nation, but is indifferently propounded vnto all people, whether they be Iewes or Gentils. So that there is now no Nation which can truly complaine that they be shut forth from the communion of Saints and the liberties of the people of God.

84. Although the Law giuen from God by Moses, as touching ceremonies and rites be abolished, and the Ciuill precepts thereof be not of necessitie to be receaued in any Common-wealth: yet notwithstanding no Christian man whatsoeuer is freed from the obedience of the Commaundements, which are called Morall.

Of the Sacraments of the New Testament.

85. The Sacraments ordained by Christ, be not onely badges or tokens of Christian mens profession: but rather certaine sure witnesses, and effectuall or powerfull signes of grace and Gods good will towards us, by which he doth worke inuisibly in vs, and not onely quicken but also strengthen and confirme our faith in him.

86. There bee two Sacraments ordained of Christ our Lord in the Gospell, that is to say, *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*.

87. Those fiue which by the Church of *Rome* are called Sacraments, to witt, *Confirmation*, *Penance*, *Orders*, *Matrimony*, and *Extreame vnction*, are not to be accounted Sacraments of the Gospell: being such as haue partly growen from corrupt imitation of the Apostles, partly are states of life allowed in the Scriptures, but yet haue not like nature of Sacraments with *Baptisme* and the *Lords Supper*, for that they haue not any visible signe or ceremonie ordained of God, together with a promise of sauing grace annexed thereunto.

88. The Sacraments were not ordained of Christ to be gazed vpon, or to be carried about; but that we should duely vse them. And in such onely as worthyly receaue the same, they haue a wholesome effect and operation; but they that receaue them vnworthylie, thereby draw iudgement vpon themselues.

Of Baptisme.

89. Baptisme is not onely an outward signe of our profession, and a note of difference, whereby Christians are discerned from such as are no Christians; but much more a Sacrament of our admission into the Church, sealing vnto vs our new birth (and consequently our Iustification, Adoption, and Sanctification) by the communion which we haue with Iesus Christ.

90. The Baptisme of Infants is to be retained in the Church, as agreeable to the word of God.

91. In the administration of Baptisme, *Exorcisme*, *Oile*, *Salte*, *Spittle*, and superstitious *hallowing of the water*, are for iust causes abolished: and without them the Sacrament is fully and

perfectly administred, to all intents and purposes, agreeable to the institution of our Sauiour Christ.

Of the Lords Supper.

92. The Lords supper is not onely a signe of the mutuall loue which Christians ought to beare one towards another, but much more a Sacrament of our preseruation in the Church, sealing vnto us our spirituall nourishment and continuall growth in Christ.

93. The change of the substance of bread and wine into the substance of the Body and Bloud of Christ, commonly called *Transubstantiation*, cannot be proued by Holy Writ; but is repugnant to plaine testimonies of the Scripture, ouerthroweth the nature of a Sacrament, and hath giuen occasion to most grosse Idolatry and manifold superstitions.

94. In the outward part of the holy Communion, the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is in a most liuely manner *represented;* being no otherwise present with the visible elements than things signified and sealed are present with the signes and seales, that is to say, symbolically and relatiuely. But in the inward and spirituall part the same Body and Bloud is really and substantially *presented* vnto all those who haue grace to receaue the Sonne of God, euen to all those that beleeue in his name. And unto such as in this manner doe worthylie and with faith repaire vnto the Lords table the Bodie and Bloud of Christ is not onely signified and offered, but also truely exhibited and communicated.

95. The Bodie of Christ is giuen, taken, and eaten in the Lords Supper, onely after an heauenly and spirituall manner; and the meane whereby the Body of Christ is thus receaved and eaten is Faith.

96. The wicked, and such as want a liuely faith, although they doe carnally and visibly (as Saint Augustine speaketh) presse with their teeth the Sacrament of the body and bloud of Christ, yet in no wise are they made partakers of Christ; but rather to their condemnation doe eat and drincke the signe or Sacrament of so great a thing.

97. Both the parts of the Lords Sacrament, according to Christs institution and the practise of the auncient Church, ought to be ministred vnto all Gods people; and it is plain sacriledge to rob them of the mysticall cup, for whom Christ hath shed his most precious bloud.

98. The Sacrament of the *Lords Supper* was not by Christs ordinance reserued, carried about, lifted vp, or worshiped.

99. The sacrifice of the Masse, wherein the Priest is said to offer vp Christ for obtaining the remission of paine or guilt for the quicke and the dead, is neither agreeable to Christs ordinance nor grounded upon doctrine Apostolike; but contrarywise most ungodly and most iniurious to that all-sufficient sacrifice of our Saniour Christ, offered once for euer vpon the Crosse, which is the onely propitiation and satisfaction for all our sinnes.

100. Priuate Masse, that is, the receiuing of the *Eucharist* by the Priest alone, without a competent number of communicants, is contrary to the institution of Christ.

Of the state of the soules of men, after they be departed out of this life: together with the generall Resurrection, and the last Iudgement.

101. After this life is ended the soules of Gods children be presently receaued into Heauen, there to enjoy vnspeakeable comforts; the soules of the wicked are cast into Hell, there to endure endlesse torments.

102. The doctrine of the Church of Rome, concerning *Limbus Patrum*, *Limbus Puerorum*, *Purgatorie*, *Prayer for the dead*, *Pardons*, *Adoration of Images and Relickes*, and also *Inuocation of Saints*, is uainely inuented without all warrant of holy Scripture, yea and is contrary vnto the same.

103. At the end of this world the Lord Iesus shall come in the clouds with the glory of his Father; at which time, by the almightie power of God, the liuing shalbe changed and the dead shalbe raised; and all shall appeare both in body and soule before his iudgement seat, to receaue according to that which they haue done in their bodies, whether good or evill.

104. When the last iudgement is finished, Christ shall deliver vp the Kingdome to his Father, and God shalbe all in all.

THE DECREE OF THE SYNOD.

If any Minister, of what degree or qualitie soeuer he be, shall publikely teach any doctrine cõtrary to these Articles agreed upon, If, after due admonition, he doe not conforme himselfe, and cease to disturbe the peace of the Church, let him bee silenced, and depriued of all spirituall promotions he doth enjoy.

FINIS.

V

A Certificate

OF THE

STATE AND REVENNEWES

OF THE

BISHOPPRICKE

OF

MEATH AND CLONEMACKENOSH.

A Certificate

OF THE

STATE AND REVENNEWES

OF

THE BISHOPPRICKE

OF

MEATH AND CLONEMACKENOSH,

VIZ^{r}.

The meanes of the Bishopprick of Meath doe arise from

1 Temporalties or Temporall rentes,
2 Tithes,
3 Pencons,
4 Proxies.

The Temporallties belonging and apptayning to the Bishopprick of Meath are these, vizt.

The Mannor of Ardbrackhan in the Countie of Meath whereunto belongeth the house together wth ccclx Akers or thereaboutes of Demesne landes remayning in the B^{ps} hands, Onely there is a controversie whether the B^{p} should pay Tithes out of his demesne lands to Sr Roger Jones whoe is the Kings Farmor for the Abbay of the Novan.

The Chappell of St Maries in Ardbrackhan wth the appurtennces was demised quarto Januarij Anno 1532 by Edward B^{p} of Meath Thomas Abbot of the Novan and Covent to Richard Christen Register of Meath for lxxxj yeares paying yearly xij^{d} notwthstanding the expiracon of wch lease the thing is now held by Sr Roger Jones his Maties Farmor of the Abbey of the Novan wthout allowing any rent to the B^{p}.

Neilstowne in the Countie of Meath a C acres of arable land. A ffirrparke betweene Neilstowne and the Moore, foure Mesuages in Ardbrackhan and lxiiij acres of Ardbrackhan land demised by Edward B^p^ of Meath ix^o^ Junij Anno vj^to^ Edwardi sexti to Richard Christen for iiij^xx^xix^en^ yeares paying yearely viij^l^ Ir. wth is vi^l^ Ster. After the expiracon of wth Terme another lease is to begin for iiij^xx^xix^en^ yeares graunted by Thomas B^p^ of Meath primo Januarij 1599 to Patrick Swayne wth reseruacon of the same rent.

Betaghtaghtowne contayning lx^ths^ acres. It was first passed in the former lease together wth Neilstowne. But B^p^ Bradye getting it into his owne handes passed it in fee farme to his Sonne in the name of his Notary John Conan. Thence it is come by meane Conveyaunces to Garret Dillon, the rent reserued is iij^l^ Ir. or xlv^s^ ster. The writings I have not seene.

Ricardstowne in the Countie of Meath xxi acres and an halfe neere adioyning thereunto leased to Mr. William Hill of Allenstowne 22do Maij A^o^ 1567 for lxj yeares, he paying the yearely rent of xxj^s^ vj^d^ Ir. or xvj^s^ j^d^ ob. ster. A lease of the same in reuercon was passed by B^p^ Jones quinto Julij A^o^ 1605 to Thomas Braughall for cj yeares wth reseruacon of the same rent.

An old house in Ricardstowne wth xxxvj acres of land passed by B^p^ Jones to Thomas Braughall of Ardbrackhan yeoman xxiij^o^ Maij A^o^ 1605 for cj yeares wth reseruacon of the yearely rent of xxvj^s^ viij^d^ Ir. or xx^s^ ster. It is in the possession of Sr Roger Jones Knight.

The Mannor of Ardrath in the Countie of Meath. It is held by Mr Cusack of Lismullen in fee simple w^th^out any dutie reserued to the B^p^.

The Mannor of Clonarde in the County of Meath (was aunciently the seate of the B^prick^) and Killian in the said Countie wth the villages of Mollrick Moringuliath etc. contayning about five hundred acres adioyning to the B^ps^ Manno^r^ house passed in fee farme by B^p^ Jones to Sr Thomas Loftus knight for xx^ths^ poundes Ir. or xv^l^ ster. p annū.

Morebride in the Countie of Meath passed in fee farme by Edward B^p^ of Meath nono Junij A^o^ 6to Edwardi 6^ti^ to the heires of Sr Thomas Cusack knight for l^li^ Ir. or xxxvij^s^ sterling p annū.

Ballibarne Anaghe and Moyden or Moydrome in the said Countie contayning cl^ths^ acres or thereaboutes in the parish of Clonard leased by B^p^ Brady xxiiij^o^ Februarij anno 1578 to

George Fitz Gerrald for lxj yeares for iii^{li} Ir. or xlv^{s} ster p annū. A reuercon of the same graunted by B^{p} Jones to Sr Edward Fitz Garrald knight xxj^{o} Maij A^{o} 1605 for cj yeares to begin after the expiracon of the former lease paying yearely iiij^{li} Ir. or iij^{li} ster.

Tollaghe leased by B^{p} Brady xxv^{o} Februarij A^{o} 1578 to Walter Flynn for lxj yeares, he paying thereout xx Ir. or xv^{s} ster. p annū. It is now held by Sr Edward Fitz Garrald knight.

Arnemullen Inane and Killwarden in the Countie of Meath contayning cxl^{tie} acres or thereabout leased by B^{p} Brady vltimo Junij 1571 to Robert Bostock for lxj yeares, he paying thereout vj^{li} Ir. or iiij^{li} x^{s} ster. Another lease in reuercon graunted by B^{p} Jones to Thomas Braughall of Ardbrackhan yeoman for cj yeares wth reseruacon of the same rent.

Moyfin contayning lx acres in the Countie of Meath leased by B^{p} Brady xxv^{to} Februarij A^{o} xxj^{o} regni Elizabeth to Jasper Staples for lxj yeares. for the yearely rent of xl^{s} Ir. or xxxv^{s} ster. A reuercon afterward graunted to the same Jasper by B^{p} of [*sic*] Jones for iiij^{xx}xix^{en} yeares wthout augmentacon of rent.

Scurlockstowne Effernocke and Castleragge in Newtowne by Tryme in the Countie of Meath passed in fee farme by B^{p} Brady xxxj^{o} Maij A^{o} 1564 to Barnabe Scurlock for the yearely rent of xvj^{li} Ir. or xij^{li} ster.

The Mannor of Tryme in the Countie of Meath his Matie alloweth out of it to the B^{p} yearely a pencon of v^{li} Ir. or iiij.^{li} xv^{s} ster.

Farneforth or Farren loare conteyning lx^{tie} acres in the Countie of Westmeath leased to Mr. Nugent of Dardistowne for xxij^{s} vj^{d} ster. p annū. The number of yeares I cannot learne.

Taffernam als Staffernam in the said Countie contayning lx^{tie} acres of arable land beside meadow leased by B^{p} Brady xxv^{o} Februarij A^{o} 1578 vnto Peirce Nugent for lxj yeares wth reseruacon of the yearely rent of xxxiij^{s} iiij^{d} Ir. or xxv^{s} ster.

Knocke and Churchtowne of Killowae in the Countie of Westmeath leased by B^{p} Mountgomery A^{o} 1616 to James Murrey for three lives wth a reseruacon of the rent of viij^{li} ster p annū.

Balamacartan contayning fortie acres in Westmeath leased by B^{p} Jones nono Maij A^{o} 1591 vnto James Browne for lxj yeares beginning primo Martij 1610 wth the reseruacon of the yearely rent of xxxiiij^{s} Ir. or xviij^{s} ster.

Clonfadforam contayning cx acres in Westmeath demised by B^p^ Brady to John Conan now held by Sr Roger Jones knight. The rent is iiij^li^ Ir. or xlv^s^ ster. The terme is saied to be about fiftie yeares yet to come the lease I haue not seene.

Ballinaspicke als Bishopstowne in the Countie of Westmeath two concurrent leases were graunted hereof by B^p^ Brady for the yearley rent of xij beoues. Thone to John Dongan for fiftie one yeares beginning xxiiij Februarij 1578. The other to Peter Nangle for lxj yeares beginning at Easter A^o^ 1583.

Clare in Westmeath leased by B^p^ Brady to John Dongan xxiiij^to^ februarij A^o^ 1578 for lj yeares wth reseruacon of viij beoues for the annuall rent.

Ballindrynam Ballintolcham Kilmanaghan Ballinkilline Tullamoyragher Ballemurre in the parish of Moyraffyn **Ballinckny Ballikilmurry Atherny & Balladrohid** in the parish of Moylin in Fercall in the Kings Countie. All these lands together wth the advowson of the Rectorie of Rathwire in the Countie of Westmeath were passed in fee farme by Bishop Brady to the Earle of Killdare for iiij^li^ Ir. or iij^li^ ster. p annū. wth rent allso is neuer paid. This was done vnder a colour of Exchaunge of these lands for Bishoppescorte wth the earle challenged as his owne Whereas it is well knowne to haue been the auncient demesnes of the Bishoppricke and the only house where he made his residence in Westmeath. The land in Fercall is passed by lres patentes vnto Sr Fraunces Blundell in the late plantacon of O Moloyes Countrey w^th^out any recompence as yet giuen to the B^p^ either for the land itselfe or for the small rent that was reserued uppon it.

The whole rent now recerued out of the Temporallties of the B^prick^ of Meath (the demesnes of Ardbrackhan not accompted) amounteth yearely to the some of } lxxxv^li^ iiij^s^ i^d^ ob.

The Tithes ariseing out of the Rectories annexed to the B^prick^ of Meath vizt.

The Rectory of Ballimore als Loxewdy in the Countie of Westmeath leased by B^p^ Brady for cxl^te^ beoues p annū. But afterward by Bishop Dodde for the yearelie rent of xxx^li^ ster. the lessee being bound to bear all charges ordinarie and extraordinarie. Wherevppon the question ariseth whether he be not hereby

bound to pay the kings twentieth part and the B^pe proxies yearely, the lease continueth for xvij or xviij yeares yet to come.

The Rectorie of the Nobber wth the Chappells belonging therevnto worth lx^li ster. p annū. The tith corne and hay of Julianstowne apptayning to this Rectorie was demised by Edward B^p of Meathe A° primo Edwardi 6^ti to Thomas St Laurence als Howth for iiij^xx xix^en yeares he paying thereout yearely iij markes Ir. that is xxx^s ster.

The Rectorie of Tryme in the Countie of Meath lately annexed by his Matie to the B^prick wch is worth Communibus annis (the vicars allowance being deducted) cc ster. A good parcell of the Tithes of this Rectorie was leased by Mr Draper (late B^p of Killmore and parson of Tryme) for the vse of his wife who is now turned Recusant. Another portion in the towne of Tryme was demised by the said B^p Draper to Nicholas Locke for the yearely rent of xxvj^s Ir. or xx^s ster.

Summa cciiij^xx x^li. ster

The Pentions belonging to the B^prieke of Meath are

Out of the Rectorie of Paynestowne xx^nobles Ir. or v^li ster.

Out of the priorie of Duleeke xxvj^li xiij^s iiij^d Ir. or xx^li ster.

Out of the Priorie of Colpe xx^li Ir. or xv^li ster. heretofore vsually paid by the now lord Viscount of Drogheda. But now stayed because as he alleadgeth others should ioyne wth him in the payment thereof.

Out of St Maries Abbay by Dublin xx^li Ir. or xv^li ster. heretofore duly paid by the Kings ffarmo^rs but now by many of them denied.

Summa pentionū lv^li ster.

Besides I finde in B^pe Bradyes rentall I finde v^li viij^s viij^d Irish paid as a pention out of the priorye of Molengare vj beoues out of the monastery of Loxewdy. Six beoues out of the priory of Derrowes. Six beoues of Wastina in the Deanrie of Loxewdy. And foure beoues out of the Monastery of Kilbeggan none of wch are now paid.

The proxies are receaued by the B^p of Meath partlie out of the Institutive, partlie out of the impropriate liveings.

The Institutive proxies belonging to the B^p of Meathe yeald lx^li v^s vj^d ster. in money xxx^tie beoues.

The institutive proxies of the Archdeaconrie of Kells als Nobber annexed to the B^rick^ of Meath are yearly x^li^ iiij^li^ ix^d^ ster.

The impropriate proxies giuen vp to King Henry the viij^th^ by Edward B^p^ of Meath and lately regraunted to the B^rick^ by our now gracious Soveraigne amount to the yearely soñe of lxj^li^ vij^s^ viij^d^ Ir. wch is xlv^li^ x^s^ vj^d^ ster. but some parcells of the lord Viscount of Drogheda and others deny to pay [*sic*] thing to the B^p^. Others put of their payment from the farmors of the Abbayes to the farmo^rs^ of the Rectories appropriated therevnto. And euery seuerall Rectorie is cõmonly deuided amongst so many seuerall farmors that vnlesse a more certayne course be taken herein his Matie gratious intention of augmenting the meanes of this B^rick^ wilbe vtterly frustrate.

Soñ of the proxies in all cxvj^li^ ix^d^ ster. and xx^tie^ beoues.

The State of the Revennewes belonging to the Bishopricke of Clonemacnoshe really vnited to the B^rick^ of Meath by Act of Parliament vis^t^

All the landes in Westmeath belonging to this B^rick^ were demised by B^p^ Jones primo Nouembris A^o^. Dñi. 1592 to Edward Maloane for lxxj yeares he paying thereout tenne beoues yearely. and preserving the young hawkes of Goshawkes faulcons and Tassells breeding in the woods of Clonemacknosh. Halfe of wch he is bound to deliver to the B^p^ of Meath at his house in Ardbrackhan, or to pay iij^li^ for euery hawke that shall be stollen, or otherwise negligently lost, But by reason of the continuall felling of the great Timber in those woods (for wch the said lessee hath noe licence graunted him in his lease) the hawkes w^ch^in this yeare or two haue forsaken the place, and so the B^p^ hath lost the benefit of that reservacõn.

All the lands in the Countie of Roscommon belonging to the said B^rick^ were passed in fee farme by B^p^ Jones xx^o^ Nouembris A^o^ 1586 to Anthony Brabazon for the yearely rent of x markes Ir. or v^li^ ster. There are twelue quarters of land enioyed by this graunt much whereof was not in the B^ps^ possession at the tyme wherein this State was passed. There is none of the Clergies hands to the Conveyance neither doth it appear by any witnesses That by their consent their seale was affixed therevnto.

Two quarters of land lying neere vnto Galloway passed (as it is said) in fee farme for the Annuall rent of xx^{s} Ir. or xv^{s} ster. The Conveiaunce I haue not seene.

Fower quarters of land in the Countie of Mayo called Killshamy leased by B^{p} Brady xxvj^{to} Augusti A^{o} 1578 to James Garvey for lxj yeares for the yearely rent of iiij^{nobles} Ir. or xx^{s} ster.

The Vicarages of Balliloughloe Tessaran and Levanaghan als Slevanaghan sett for the yearley rent of xxxix^{l} ster.

Certayne Prebends annexed to the B^{pricke} set for the yearely rent of vij^{l} ster. or thereabout.

An Eele weere vppon the river of the Shannon worth iij^{li} vj^{s} viij^{d} ster.

Summa totalis hereof each beefe being rated at xx^{s} ster. amounteth vnto } lxvj^{li} xx^{d} ster.

There is a great proportion of land in the province of Connaught wch auncientlie belonged to the B^{pricke} of Clonemacknoshe the perticulars whereof are to be seene extracted out of the Register of that Church, but the originall booke hath lately beene convayed away by the practize of a leude fellow whoe hath therevppon fled the Countrey.

Soe the full value of the Bishoprick of Meath and the B^{pricke} of Clonemacknoshe together wth the rectorie of Tryme and all other thinges to the said B^{pricke} of Meath vnited amounteth to the somme of } vj^{c}xxxij^{li} vj^{s} vj^{d} ob. st. out of wch his Maties xx^{tie} p^{t} amounteth yearely to xviij^{li} iij^{s} i^{d} ob. ster. besides the Arch^{bps}trienniall proxies.

The demesnes of Ardbrackhan not being herein accompted.

The State of the Dioces of Meath here followeth, vizt.

	Dignities.	Dignitaries.	Valuacions in taxe to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valewe.	Residentiarie.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands
1	Bishoppricke of Meath.	James Ussher Doctor of Divinitie.	373li 10s 5d Ir.	18li 13s 6d qr. Ir.	The value appeareth in the particulars of the Brick formerly specified.	. . . . .	No Cathedrall Church. No Chapter but the whole Clergy.	A faire house wth convenient buildings and houses of office and the demesnes therevnto belonging in the Countie of Meath.
2	Archdeaconrie of Meath to wch belongeth the Rectorie of Kellis in the Countie of Meath.	Mr. Randoll Barlow, Batchelor of Divinitie Archdeacon.	100li Ir.	5li Ir.	140li ster.	He is Deane of Christs-Church in Dublin and for the most part resideth there.	The Church of Kells, the body whereof is altogether vnrepaired. The Chauncell is in good repaire. There belong to this Church these Chappells of ease, vizt.: Burry, Rathboyne, Duleene.	An auncient manse house at Kellis in the Countie of Meath now altogether ruined. An old house called Rosemyne and houses of office herevnto belonging now well repaired, wth the towne of Rosemyne and vijxx acres of arable land wth meadow and pasture. Another house called Ballrathe and vjxx acres of arable land and pasture therevnto belonging. The Townes of Carbstowne, the Graunge goddan with xijxx acres of arable land & pas-

8	Archdeaconrie of Kellis als the Nobber to wch belongeth the Rectorie of the Nobber in the Countie of Meath.	Really vnited to the Bprick of Meath.	29li 15s 5d Ir.	29s 3d ob. Ir.	. . . . .	. . . . .	The Church of the Nobber. The bodie and Chauncell thereof are ruinous.	Neither house nor gleabe lands.

Deanrie of Duleeke.

	Rectories.	Incumbents.	Valuacons in taxe to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valew.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and gleabe lands.
1	Armalgham in the County of Meath. Presentatiue. The Lord Bp of Meath Patron.	Mr. William Phillips Batchelor of Divinitie of good life and conversacion and verie painefull in his calling.	21li 15s 5d Ir.	21s 9d qr. Ir.	This rectorie is in lease wth the house and all things thervnto belonging, wch lease is now in the hands of Mr. Robert Kennedy of Dublin Alder. and there is only reserved to the Incumbent 13li 6s 8d Ir. yearely. The whole Rectorie is worth 60li ster. yearely. The Incumbent payeth all charges ordinary and extraordinarie.	He resideth.	The Church is ruined, the Chauncell is allso ruined but the Incumbent is about to repaire it and hath allready made the walles and prouided materialls for the building thereof.	A Castle and other houses of office now in good repaire, a garden, an haggard and one acre of land. More foure acres of arable land wth certaine pasture thervnto belonging demised in fee farme to Richard Aylmere of Doulands towne in the said parish Esqre for the yearely rent of vijs ster.

	Rectories.	Encumbents.	Valuacons in taxe to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valew.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and gleabe lands.
2	Paynestowne in the Countie of Meath Mr Delafield of Paynestown Gen. Patron. Presentative.	Mr. Gilbert Purdan a reading Minister now absent in England by licence from his Matie. Mr. Edward Sowtherne a preaching Minister Curate.	22li 2s 6d Ir.	22s 1d ob. Ir.	40li ster.	Absent in England by licence from his Matie The Curat resideth at a liveing of his owne not farre from thence.	The Church is ruined. The Chauncell is indifferently repaired.	A castle and houses of office now indifferently repaired. A garden An orchard and a close contayning an acre and an halfe of land.
3	Rentestowne in the Countie of Meath presentatiue. The Lord Baron of Donsany Patron.	Mr. Luke Ussher Batcheler of Arts a preaching Minister of good life and conversacion.	10li 12s 6d Ir.	10s 7d ob. Ir.	30li ster.	He is Archdeacon of Ardmagh and resideth in the dioces of Ardmagh. Mr. William Warr a reading minister of the countrey birth, a very old sickly man is curate and resideth.	The Church is ruined. The Chauncell is in indifferent good repaire.	A manse house now ruinous. Three messuages altogether ruined. A garden an orchard and two closes of lands.
4	Rathfeighe in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. Mr. Bathe of Rathfeighe Patron.	Mr. John Bathe one of the country birth lately reclaymed from Poperie.	12li 7s 1d Ir.	12s 4 qr Ir.	30li ster.	He resideth.	The Church is wholely ruined. The Chauncell is ruinous.	A manse house wch is ruinous, foure messuages altogether ruined one close contayning an acre of land, Two acres and an halfe of furres More there belonged to it in tymes past, an acre of meadow and other 15 acres of gleabe now detayned

			In taxe to his Matie.	annuall to his Matie.				
5	Killmoone in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The Lord Archbp of Ardmagh lo: Primate of Ireland Patron.	Mr. Roger Danby a preacher of good life & conversacion Chaplen to the right Hoble the lo. Viscount Ealy lo: Chauncellor of Ireland.	13li 10s Ir.	13s 6d Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth.	The Church is wholly ruined. The Chauncell is ruinous.	A manse house, a messuage indifferently repaired, a garden an orchard An haggard twentie acres of arable land and one acre of moore.
6	Balligarth in the County of Meath. Presentative. The lo: Netterfeild lo: Viscount of Balimore, Patron.	Mr. Richard Purdam borne in this countrey, but of English parents. A Cambridge man of good life and conversacion.	8li 3s 4d Ir.	8s 2d Ir.	40markes ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his in ye same dioces not far from thence. Mr. Tho. Lees a preaching minister of good life and conversacion serueth the cure and resideth at a liveing of his owne wthin two miles.	The Church and Chauncell are both indifferently well repaired.	A manse house now ruined. A garden an orchard and an haggard. 3 acres of Glebe.

	Vicarages.	Incumbents.	Valuacions.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valetue.	Residentiary.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
7	Dont als St. Maries of Drogheda in the towne of Drogheda. Presentatiue. The lo: Moore lo: Viscount of Drogheda is his Maties farmer of the Rectory being impropriate and Patron.	Mr. Robert Burton a reading minister.	6li 13s 4d Ir.	6s 8d Ir.	20nobles ster.	He resideth in Drogheda.	This is a great Church and both Church and Chauncell are indifferently repaired.	Neither house nor gleabe land saue only a roome for an house.

	Vicarages.	Encumbents.	Valuacions in taxe to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valetie.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
8	Mora als Moore Church in the County of Meath Presentative. The lo: Moore Patron And his Matie farmor of the Rectore being impropriate.	Mr. Thomas Lees a preaching minister formerly mencioned numero 6 in the Residentiaries.	5li 2s 11d Ir.	5s 1d ob. qr Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth	The Church ruined. The Chauncell indifferently repaired.	A manse house & other houses of office, three mesuages in the towne of Moorechurch all in good repaire A garden orchard More two acres of arable land two acres of meadow and foure acres of pasture for wch the Vicar payeth yearely to his Maties farmor of the impropriate rectorie the rent of 40s ster.
9	Nanny als Julianstowne in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The lo: Moore lo: Viscount of Drogheda Patron and his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	The said Mr. Thomas Lees the next above mentioned.	5li Ir.	5s Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth at Moore Church wthin two miles.	The Church and Chauncell are both indifferently repaired.	A manse house and foure mesuages in the towne of Julianstowne all well repayred. A garden an haggard, three acres of arable land and foure acres of pasture.
10	Stamullen in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The lo: Moore Patron and his Maties farmor of the Rectorie being impropriate.	The said Mr. Thomas Lees.	14li 13s 4d Ir.	13 8l Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth at Moore Church, all these three vicaradges of Mora Nanny and Stamullen wch he holdeth and the cure of Balligart are not above two miles distant each from other & he	The Church is ruynous. The Chauncell is indifferently repayred.	A manse house and a kitchin seauen messuges wthin the Towne of Stamullen wch are all in good repaire, a garden and an orchard & an acre and an halfe of arable land.

	[illegible]	[illegible]	in taxe to his Matie.	annuall to his Matie.	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	and Glebe Lands.
11	Clonalvey in the Countie of Meath presentatiue. The Lo: Moore Patron And his Maties farmo^r of the Rectorie being impropriate.	Nicholas Tedder a young man in deacon orders of honest reporte a late Scholler of Trinitie Colledge neere Dublin.	16^s 8^d Ir.	10^d Ir.	10^li ster.	He resideth	The Church is indifferently repaired. The Chauncell is ruyned.	A manse house ruyned a garden an haggard and twelue acres of arable land and foure acres of pasture.
12	Adeath in the Countie of Meath presentative. The Lo: Moore Patron and his Maties farmo^r of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. William Hagly a preaching minister Chaplen to the Lo: Moore of good life.	6^li 16^s 8^d Ir.	6^s 10^d Ir.	20^li ster.	He resideth some tymes here and some tymes at another liveing of his in the same dioces not farre distant from it.	The Church is repayred. The Chauncell is ruyned.	A manse and other houses of office wch all are ruyned, a garden an orchard and 18 acres of arable lande.
13	Kilkervan in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The loord Moore Patron and his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	It is voide and sequestred into the hands of Adam Jones a young man in deacon orders. It is so little worth that noe man will take it in Title.	3^li 7^s 1^d Ir.	3^s 4^d qr. Ir.	5^li ster.	He resideth	The Church is indifferently repayred. The Chauncell is ruyned.	A manse now ruyned. Two acres of arable lande.
14	Balmagarvey in the Countie of Meath Presentative. His Matie ys Patron The Earl of Westmeath is his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate Rectorie.	Mr. William Haward a reading minister borne in the countrie.	9^li 10^s Ir.	9^s 6^d Ir.	10^li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell are in good repaire.	A manse and other houses of office in good repaire, a garden an haggard a close called the vicars parke conteyning three acres of arable land and an acre of arable land called St. ffinians acre in the fields of Balcathe.

	Vicarages.	Incumbents.	Valuacions in taxe to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Valeue.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
15	Lernoty als Prestownelandy in the County of Meath Presentative. Sir William Sparke Knight one of the Justices of his Maties bench, farmo^r to his Matie of the Rectory impropriate.	Mr. Cadwalader Edmonds a reading minister of good fame and conversacion.	28^s 4^d Ir.	17^d Ir.	10^li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his in the dioces not farre from thence.	The Church is repaired. The Chauncell is ruyned.	A manse house in good repaire and other houses of office vnrepayred, and flue acres of arable land neere the Church.
16	Tymoole in the Countie of Meath Presentative. Mr. Bathe of Rathfeigh Patron. The Lo: Moore his Maties farmo^r the Rectorie being impropriate.	Mr. Richard Coffy a natiue.	53^s 4^d Ir.	2^s 8^d Ir.	7^li 10^s ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse ruined An acre of arable land.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacions.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
17	St. Kennies of Duleeke in the countie of Meath. The lord Moore is his Maties farmo^r of the Rectory being impropriate. This is a great parish and there belongeth to it	Mr. William Hagley formerly specified numero 12.	Nihil.	Nihil.	5^li stipend yearely and nothing els but the benefit of christenings marriages and burialls.	He resideth at another liveing of his owne in the dioces not farre from thence.	The Church is somewhat ruynous and the Chauncell is indifferently repayred.	None at all.

			annuall to his Matie.				and Gleabe Lands.
18	St. Maries of Duleeke in the County of Meath. Sr John Draycott knight is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Willm Haward formerly specified numero 14.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30li ster.	He resideth at Ballmagarvey his vicaradge not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	None at all.
19	Rotherstowne in the Countie of Meath. Bartholomew Dillon of Riuerstowne Esqr his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Walter Mooney a reading minister a native of good life and conversacion.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20s ster.	He resideth at another Cure not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
20	Knockaman in the County of Meath. The Lo: Moore Lo: Viscount of Drogheda is his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. William Hagley formerly specified numero 12 et 18.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his in that dioces not farr from thence.	The Church is indifferently repaired. The Chauncell is repaired.	None at all.
21	Macestowne in the Countie of Meath. ffraunces Edgworth of Dublin Esqr his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Nicholas Bochan a native a reading minister.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20s ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his owne not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell is repaired.	None at all.
22	Donmore als Donowre in the county of Meath. The Lo: Moore lord Viscount of Drogheda is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Burton formerly specified numero 7.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3li ster.	He resideth at Drogheda not far from thence.	The Church and Chauncell repaired.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacions.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
23	Colve in the Countie of Meath. Sr John Draycott Knight is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Burton next before specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30s ster.	He resideth at Drogheda.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
24	Mornanton als Marrynerstowne in the Countie of Meath. Sr John Draycott Knight his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	The same Mr. Robert Burton.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20s	He resideth at Drogheda being not aboue two miles from any of those Cures & dischargeth them all himselfe.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
25	Finnor in the Countie of Meath. Sr Patricke Barnewell Knight his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Edward Southerne a preaching minister of honest life and conversacion formerly specified numero 2o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30s	He resideth at a liueing of his owne not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house long since ruyned 12 acres of wast land and six acres of arable land.

Deanrie of Ratowth.

	Rectories.	Incumbents.	Valuacions.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
26	Kilbrew in the Countie of Meath Presentative. Patricke Barnewell of Kilbrew Esqr Pa-	Mr. Leonard Beckwith a reading minister.	13li 7s 1d Ir.	13s 4d qr. Ir.	30li ster.	He resideth in the dioces of Dublin.	The Church and Chauncell indifferently repaired.	A manse house ruyned an acre and an halfe of land.

27	Donboyne in the Countie of Meath p[r]sentative. The Lo: Baron of Donboyne Patron Mr. Walsingham Cooke Esq[r] is his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate Rectorie thereof.	Mr. James Kean a native a reading minister of good life and honest conversacion.	21[li] 10[s] Ir.	21[s] 6[d] Ir.	The whole profits of this vicarage being worth c[mks] ster. are leased to the Lo: Netterfeild and there is reserued only for the Incumbent xlx[li] Ir. yearely w[ch] lease is now almost expired.	He resideth at another liveing of his in the dioces w[thin] lesse then two miles.	This is a great parish and the Church and Chauncell are both ruyned.	A manse house and another house of office all ruyned w[ch] the Lessee is tyed to repaire.
28	Rathoth in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The Kings Ma[tie] Patron. S[r] Christopher Plunkett Knight Christopher Foster Sherife of Dublin Robert Ussher Lawrence Ussher of Dublin merc[t] & Willm. Wentworth of Lagore in that Parish Gent are his Ma[ties] farmo[rs] of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Nicholas Smyth als Agone a native a reading minister, sometyme student in Trynitye Colledge neere Dublin of good life and conversacion.	3[li] 14[s] 2[d] Ir.	3[s] 8[d] ob. Ir.	30[li] ster.	He resideth	The Church & Chauncell indifferently repayred.	A manse with some houses of office well repayred a garden an haggard and foure acres of pasture inclosed.

	Vicarages.	Encumbent.	Valuacions.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Val.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
29	Rathbeggan in the Countie of Meath presentatiue. The Lo: Moore Patron, and his maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. James Kean formerly specified numero 27°.	5li 13s 4d Ir.	5s 8d Ir.	30li ster.	He resideth	The Church and the Chauncell in good repaire.	A manse house with other houses of office and two mesuages well repaired a garden and backsides and a close contayning in all two acres and 5 acres of land in the feildes of Rathbeggan called the haye.
30	Rathreggan in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The Lo: Baron of Killeene Patron. Mr. Willm. Bishop of Dublin alderm his Maties farmor of the Rectorie being impropriate.	Mr. Edward Doyle a natiue a reading minister now verie aged and sickly.	53s 4d Ir.	2s 8d Ir.	20nobles ster.	He resideth	The Church and the Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house and other houses of office well repaired an haggard and backside.
31	Bonshahlen in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Walsingham Cooke Esqr Patron. Willm Cooke and James Cooke sonnes of Sr Richard Cooke Knight deceased are his Maties farmors of the Rectorie being impropriate.	Mr. Balwyne Shepperd a preaching minister of good life and conversacion and Mr of Artes.	Nihil.	Nihil.	15li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his wthin a mile of it and dischargeth both the cures carefully.	The Church and Chauncell both ruyned.	None at all.

				annuall to his Matie.				
32	Tribett in the County of Meath Presentative. The Kings Matie Patron. Edward Forthe Gent. second sonne to Sr Ambrose Forth Knight deceased his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Baldwyne Shepperd next above specified.	5li 12s 1d Ir.	5s 7d ob. Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell are somewhat ruyned.	A manse and other houses of office well repaired a garden a haggard and halfe an acre of arable land.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacions in tax.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
33	Balmaglassen in the Countie of Meath Sr Henry Cooley Knt his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Robert Cooke borne in this countrey of English parents a reading minister of honest life & conversacion.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3li ster.	He resideth wthin a myle at another liveing of his.	The Church is in reasonable repayre The Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
34	Donamore in the Countie of Meath Sr Willm Parsons Knt Baronet his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Nicholas Smyth als Agone formerly specified numero 28o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Ratowth wthin two myles.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacions in tax.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
35	Killeglan in the Countie of Meath Patrick Sedgrave of the same Esqr his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory thereof.	Mr. Nicholas Smyth als Agone next aboue specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	15li ster.	He resideth at Ratowth wthin a myle.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
36	Gerrocke in the Countie of Meath Mr Coman of Wianstowne gent. and Mrs Bise of Dublin widow his Maties farmors of the Rectory being impropriate.	Vicar of Ratowth numero 28.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster.	He resideth at Ratowth wthin a myle and serueth all the said Cures.	The Church and Chauncell reasonable repayred.	None at all.
37 38	Crikestowne & Cookestowne in the Countie of Meath Two Chappells of ease belonging to the vicarage of Ratowth numero 28o.	Vicar of Ratowth numero 28o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	He resideth at Ratowth.	The Church and the Chauncell of Crickestowne reasonablie repayred. The Church and Chauncell of Cookestowne ruynous.	None at all.
39	Kilbrid a Chappell of ease belonging to the vicarage of Donboyne numero 27o.	Vicar of Donboyne numero 27o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	He resideth at his Vicarage of Rathbeggan Nu. 29o.	The Church and the Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

Deanrye of Skryne.

	Rectories.	Incumbents.	Valuacions in tax to his Matie.	XXth part annuall to his Matie.	Value.	Residentiaries.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
40	Donsany in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The lord Baron of Donsany Patron.	Lately voyde and sequestred into the handes of Mr. William Philipps formerly specified numero 8.	4li 10s Ir.	4s 6d Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his in the same dioces.	The Church and Chauncell reasonably repayred.	A manse house reasonablie repayred a backside and two acres of land.
41	Agher in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The Kings Matie is Patron.	Mr. Robert Booning a Mr of Artes a preacher of good life and conversacion.	6li 13s 2d Ir.	6s 8d ob. Ir.	24li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his in the same dioces.	The Church and Chauncell somewhat ruynous.	A manse house an haggard a backside and five acres of Gleabe land.
42	Trubley in the county of Meath Presentative. Mr Cusack of the same Patron.	Mr. Patrick Griffith borne in the Countrey of English parents a reading minister of good life.	3li 7s ob. Ir.	3s 4d qr. Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth in the Dioces not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruynous.	A manse house all ruynous and v acres of land detayned by the Patron.
43	Kippenstowne als Balsome in the Countie of Meath Presentative. The lord Baron of Trymblestowne Patron.	Latelie voyde by resignacion and sequestred into the hands of Mr. Edward ffennor a preaching minister.	6li 10s Ir.	6s 6d Ir.	20marks ster.	He resideth in the Dioces not farre from thence.	The Church and the Chauncell reasonablie well repayred.	A manse house altogether ruyned an orchard and backsides and foure acres of arable land or theraboutes.

	Vicarages.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Val.	Residenti.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
44	Killeene in the County of Meath Presentative. The lord Baron of Killeene Patron Mr Pepperd or his assignes the farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Edward Doyle formerly specified numero 30.	9li Ir.	9s Ir.	24li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Rathregan numero 30.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	A manse house and houses of office an haggard and backsides and lx acres of arable land.
45	Kilmessan in the County of Meath Presentatiue. The Lo: Moore patron & his maties farmor of the Rectory impropriate.	Mr. James Daley of the countrey birth a reading minister.	3li 16s 8d Ir.	3s 10d Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth at another vicarage of his not farre from thence.	The Church is reasonablie repayred the Chauncell ruynous.	A manse and houses of office and two mesuages repayred and xxtie acres of arable land.
46	Galtrym in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr Hussey Baron of the same patron Sr Thomas Ashe his Maties farmor of the Rectory Impropriate.	Mr. James Daley next aboue specified.	13li 5s Ir.	13s 3d Ir.	20markes ster.	He resideth	The Church is ruyned. The Chauncell is repayred.	A manse house and other houses of office well repayred and foure acres of arable land.
47	Killmoore in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The Kings Matie is patron Mr Thomas Elliot his maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Booning formerly specified numero 41.	33s 4d Ir.	20d Ir.	10li ster.	This vicarage is vnited by his Matie to the Rectory of Agher. He resideth at another vicarage of his not farre off from thence.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie well repayred.	A manse house reasonablie repayred and nyne acres of land.

48	Bamistowne in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr Thomas Kent of the same gent. Patron. Thomas Netterfeild of Castletowne Killpatrick his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Nicholas Bocham formerly specified numero 21.	3li 10s Ir.	3s 6d Ir.	6li ster.	He resideth	The Church is well repayred The Chauncell is ruyned.	A manse house wth backsides and Tenn acres of lande inclosed.
49	Knockmark in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The Kings Matie Patron. Mr. Thomas Chettam gent. is his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Cadwalader Edwards formerly specified numero 15o.	4li 16s 8d Ir.	4s 10d Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell decayed.	A manse house ruyned and xvijteen acres of land.
50	Taragh als Tarragh in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The Kings Matie Patron Sr William Sparke Knt one of the Justices of the bench is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Cadwalader Edwards next aboue specified.	5li Ir.	5s Ir.	20markes ster.	He resideth here. This vicarage and the vicarage of Knockmark next aboue specified are vnited together by his Maties dureing Mr Edwardes incumbency.	The Church and Chauncell are altogether ruyned.	A manse wth other houses of office a garden a backside and six acres of land.

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Val.	Residenti.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
51	Skryne in the County of Meath Presentatiue. The Kings Matie Patron Mr Willm Browne gent. farmor to his matie of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Morgan Jones a reading minister.	6li 14s 2d Ir.	6s 8d ob. Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	A castle and a manse house and other houses of office A messuage and backside well repayred A pigion house and iiij acres of lande.
52	Bonestowne in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue The Kings Matie Patron Mr Robert Dickson of Dublin gent. is farmor to his Matie of the Rectorie being impropriate.	Mr. Morgan Jones next aboue specified.	53s 4d Ir.	2s 8d Ir.	20nobles ster.	He resideth at Skryne next aboue mencioned being about two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house with other houses of office and backsides.
53	Moyglare in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr Luke Delahoyde of the same Esqr Patron Mr Kenedye of Dublin farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Willm. Fitz Symonds borne in the Country in Deacon orders of good life and conversacion.	4li 3s 4d Ir.	4s 2d Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth	The Church well repayred. The Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house a garden an orchard. Three mesuages well repayred 4 croftes Three acres of land more one acre of meadow detayned by the Patron.
54	Culmullen in the County of Meath Presentative. The Kings Matie Patron Mr Martyne Hussey of the same farmor to his	Mr. Robert Cooke formerly specified numero 33o.	10li Ir.	10s Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	A manse house and another house of office, a croft and vijtie acres of land.

55	Athlumpney in the County of Meath Presentatiue. John Cusacke of Dublin Alder. Patron Thomas Netterfeild of Castletowne Killpatricke his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Patrick Griffith formerly specified numero 41.	6[li] 2[s] 1[d] Ir.	6[s] 1[d] qr. Ir.	6[li] ster.	He resideth at Armulcham w[th]in a myle till his house is builded w[ch] is now in hand w[th]	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	A manse house altogether ruyned and an acre of land.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
56 57	Kilkearne & Templekerran two Chappells of ease belonging to the vicarage of Skryne numero 51.	The vicar of Skryne.	Nihil.	Nihil.	valued wth the vicarage of Skryne.	He resideth at the vicarage of Skryne.	The Church of Kilkerne reasonably repayred. The Church of Templekerran ruyned.	None at all.
58	Folletstowne in the Countie of Meath. Bartholomewe Dillon of Riverstowne Esq[r] is his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Walter Mooney formerly specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40[s] ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
59 ☞	Staffordstown in the County of Meath. Bartholemewe Dillon aforesaid his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Walter Mooney next before specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20li ster.	He resideth at Folletstowne.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	None at all.
60	Monktown in the County of Meath. The Lo: Moore his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	The said Walter Mooney.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster.	vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	None at all.
61	Athsey in the Countie of Meath Thomas Elliott Esqr is farmor to his Matie of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Morgan Jones before specified numero 51 52.	Nihil.	Nihil.	25li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Skryne numero 51 about two myles off.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
62 ☞	Gallow in the Countie of Meath. The Lo: Viscount Nettervill his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Cooke before specified numero 33, et 54o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Culmullen numero 54o.	The Church and Chauncell are ruynous.	None at all.
63 ☞	Ballfeigham in the Countie of Meath The Lo: Viscount Nettervill is his Maties farmor of the rectory being im-	The said Mr. Robert Cooke.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell are altogether ruynous.	None at all.

	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	[illegible]	and Glebe Lands.
64 ☞	Bromlargen in the Countie of Meath. The said Lo: Viscount Nettervill his Mat[s] farmo[r] of the rectory being impropriate.	The said Mr. Robert Cooke.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30[s] ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruynous.	None at all.
65 ☞	Kilcloane in the Countie of Meath The Lo: Viscount Nettervill his Mat[s] farmo[r] of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. William Fitz Symons formerly specified numero 53o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30[s] ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Moyglare numero 53.	The Church and Chauncell are ruyned.	None at all.
66 ☞	Ballruddan in the Countie of Meath. The Lo: Viscount Nettervill his Mat[s] farmo[r] of the Rectory being impropriat.	The said Mr. William Fitz Symons next before specyfied.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20[s] ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church is repayred. The Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
67	Ouder a Chappell of ease belonging to the vicarage of Taragh numero 50o.	The vicar of Taragh.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Valued wth the vicarage of Taragh.	He resideth at the vicarage of Taragh.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
68	Kiltaale in the Countie of Meath. S[r] James Cregg Kn[t] is his Mat[ies] farmo[r] of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. James Daley formerly specified numero 45o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10[s] ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Galtrym numero 40 being not farre off.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
69	Dirpatricke in the Countie of Meath. The Widow Haward of Dublin is his Ma^tes farmo^r of the impropriate rectory.	The said Mr. James Daley next afore specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10^li ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church is in reasonablie good repayre The Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
70	Arratstowne a Chappell of ease belonging to the vicarage of Killmoore numero 47.	The vicar of Killmoore.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Valued wth the vicarage of Killmoore.	He resideth at the vicarage of Laracorr not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell are ruynous.	None at all.

Deanry of Tryme.

	Rectories.	Incumbents.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
71	Tryme in the Countie of Meath lately vnited really by his Matie to the Bishoppricke of Meath.	James Lo. Bp of Meath. Mr. John Gregge a M^r of Artes a good preacher of good life and honest conversacion is there Curate and very paynfull in his ministery.	65^li 6^s 8^d Ir.	3^li 5^s 4^d Ir.	267^li ster. whereof allowed to the Curate c^vrates yearely The Lo: Bp. is to erect a vicarage vppon y^t by his Matie direcion and to endow it wth soe much of the	The Curate is there resident.	The Church and Chauncell in reasonable good repayre.	A fayre Castle and an hall wth lyme and stone many houses of office wth are now decayed A garden and a backside and a Close contayning two acres of pasture.

72	Tascartan in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr. Willm Talbot Esq[r] and Mr. Edmond Misset of the same Gent Patrons alternis vicibus.	Mr. James French a M[r] of Artes a preacher of good life and conversacion.	10[li] 5[s] Ir.	10[s] 3[d] Ir.	10[li] ster.	He resideth at Clongell another Rectory of his about 3 myles off.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonablie repayred.	A manse house and other houses of office all decayed Two messuages an orchard and backsides and two acres of land.
73	Rathmore in the Countie of Meath Presentative Edward Dowdall of Rathmore Esq[r] Patron.	Mr. Beniamen Culme a M[r] of Artes a preacher of good life and conversacion Mr. Robert Shepley a preaching Minister is Curate thereof.	17[li] 2[s] 1[d] Ir.	17[s] 7[d] qr. Ir.	40[li] ster.	He resideth at Dublin The Curate resideth in the Dioces not farre from thence and intendeth very shortly to reside there.	The Church and Chauncell are ruynous.	A fayre house and other houses of office reasonablie repayred a backside and a close contayning two acres of pasture and five acres of arable land.
74	Athboye in the Countie of Meath is really vnited to the Archbpricke of Ardmagh.	The most reverend Father in God Xpofer. by Gods prouidence Lo: Archbp of Ardmagh and Prymate and Metropolitan of all Ireland.	Valued wth the Archbpricke.	Valued wth the Archbpricke.	. . . . .	There is a vicarage thereof endowed and the vicar resideth vt prox. post.		

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebe Lands.
69	Dirpatricke in the Countie of Meath. The Widow Haward of Dublin is his Maties farmo^{r} of the impropriate rectory.	The said Mr. James Daley next afore specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10^{li} ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church is in reasonablie good repayre The Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
70	Arratstowne a Chappell of ease belonging to the vicarage of Killmoore numero 47.	The vicar of Killmoore.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Valued wth the vicarage of Killmoore.	He resideth at the vicarage of Larracorr not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell are ruynous.	None at all.

Deanry of Tryme.

	Rectories.	Encumbents.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
71	Tryme in the Countie of Meath lately vnited really by his Matie to the Bishoppricke of Meath.	James Lo. Bp of Meath. Mr. JohnGregge a M^{r} of Artes a good preacher of good life and honest conversacion is there Curate and very paynfull in his ministery.	65^{li} 6^{s} 8^{d} Ir.	3^{li} 5^{s} 4^{d} Ir.	267^{li} ster. whereof allowed to the Curate c^{urates} yearely The Lo: Bp. is to erect a vicarage vppon y^{t} by his Ma^{ts} direcion and to endow it wth soe much of the	The Curate is there resident.	The Church and Chauncell in reasonable good repayre.	A fayre Castle and an hall wth lyme and stone many houses of office wch are now decayed A garden and a backside and a Close contayning two acres of pasture.

79	Rathcoure in the Countie of Meath a Chappell of ease wth cure belonging to ye Rectory of Tryme.	Mr. John Gregge formerly specified numero 71 et 77.	Valued wth the Rectory of Tryme.	Valued wth the Rectory of Tryme.	Valued wth the Rectory of Tryme.	He resideth at Tryme about three myles from thence.	The C Chaun nous.	
80 81 82	Cloney Drenidaley & Trymletstowne Three Chappells of ease w^thout cure belonging to the rectory of Tryme.	All va [*sic*]	All valued wth the rectory of Tryme.	All valued wth the rectory of Tryme.	Valued wth the Rectory of Tryme.	. . . . .	These Chappells are decayed.	None at all.
83	Moymett in the Countie of Meath. The Lo: Dillon is his Maties farmo^r of the Rectory being impropriate.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	No place to resied vppon.	The Church and Chappell repayred.	None at all.
84	Ardbrachan in the Countie of Meath wch in tymes past hath beene a vicarage. Sr Roger Jones Kn^t is his Maties farmo^r of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Nicolls a M^r of Artes a good preacher of honest life and conuersacion.	Nihil.	Nihil.	7^li ster. but when it was a vicarage there did belong to it all the great Tithes of Deramstowne & all the small Tithes of the whole parish. All wch now the farmo^r of the impropriacon taketh vp.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie wel repayred.	A manse house comonly called the vicarage house wth backsides thereunto belonging wch now his ma^ties farmo^r of the impropriacon converteth to his owne vse.

	Cures.	Curates.	Value.	XXth.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
85	Novan in the County of Meath. Sr Roger Jones Knt is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. William Phillips formerly specified numero 3o.	Nihil.	Nihil.	12li ster. allowed by the farmor of the impropriacon.	He resideth at his rectory of Armulgham about two myles thence and preacheth every Sunday at Novan.	The Church is in good repayre. The Chauncell is ruynous.	None at all.
86	Skurlockstowne in the Countie of Meath. John Ash of Killmessan Esqr is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Alexander Sharpe Mr of Artes a preacher of good life and conversacon.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40li ster.	He resideth at another liveing of his about viij myle thence.	The Church is reasonablie repayred. The Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
87	Killaconegan in the Countie of Meath. Sr Garret Aylmer Knt is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Alexander Sharpe next above specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20nobles ster. stipend p.annu. paid by the farmor of the impropriacon.	He resideth at another liveing of his about iiij myles thence.	The Church is reasonablie repayred the Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
88	Artetowne by Tryme in the Countie of Meath. Sr Thomas Ash Knt is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Robert Booning formerly specified numero 41. 47. et 76.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40li ster. stipend p. annu. paid by the farmor of the impropriacon.	He resideth at his vicarage of Laracor about a myle and an halfe from thence.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.

89	Killcomley in the Countie of Meath. The lo: Moore lo: Viscount of Droghe-da his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Robert Booning next above specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40[s] ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Laracor about three myles from thence.	The Church and Chauncell ruy-nous.	None at all.
90	Killualky in the county of Meath S[r] Thomas Ash Kn[t] his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate Recto-ry.	The above said Mr. Robert Booning.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40[s] ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell ruy-ned.	None at all.
91	Ratapur in the County of Meath. Mr. Thomas Elliot Esq[r] now high She-rife of the county of Meath.	No Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10[s] ster.	No meanes to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell ruy-nous.	None at all.
92	Churchtowne in the County of Meath. The Widow Hayward of Dublin his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Rectory being impropriate.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nothing worth.	Noe meanes to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell ruy-ned.	None at all.
93	Clonmaduff in the County of Meath. S[r] Roger Jones Kn[t] his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Rectory being impropriate.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10[s] ster.	Noe meanes to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell ruy-nous.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
94	Tuloghenoge in the County of Meath. Sr Christopher Plunket Knt his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10li ster.	Noe meanes to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell vtterly ruyned.	None at all.
	Ardsallagh in the County of Meath. Sr George Sextonn Knt his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Edward Fennor before specified numero 43.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30li ster.	He boardeth wth the Vicar of Skryne two myles from thence.	The Church is ruynous. The Chauncell is repayred.	None at all.
96	Martry in the County of Meath. Sr Patrick Barnewell Knt his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. William Davyes in Deacon orders.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	Two small messuages ruynous.
97	Bectiffe in the County of Meath. Bartholemewe Dillon of Riverstowne Esqr his Maties farmer of the impropriate Rectory. This Church belongeth to the Abbay of Bectiffe in the possession of the said Mr. Dillon who pretendeth to have an exemp-	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	I know not the value of it.	I know noe Curate thereof.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all that I know.

Deanry of Kenlis als Kells.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
98	Kenlis als Kells in the County of Meath. belonging to the Archdeaconry of Meath formerly specified among the dignityes numero.	Mr. Randall Barlow formerly specified ibm. Mr. Willm. Smyth borne in Scotland a M^{r} of Artes a preacher of good life and conversacion.	Valued wth the Archdeaconry of Meath.	Specified in the Archdeaconry of Meath.	Valued in the Archdeaconry of Meath.	As in the Archdeaconry of Meath The Curate resideth.	Certified in the Archdeaconry of Meath.	Certified in the Archdeaconry of Meath.
99	Moynaltie in the County of Meath. Presentatiue. Edward Beatagh of the same Esqr Patron.	Mr. Thomas Smyth Bachelor of Divinity. Chaplen to Lo: Viscount Graundison of good life and conversacion.	18^{li} Ir.	18^{s} Ir.	50^{li} ster.	He resideth at Dublin. Mr. Willm. Smyth formerly specified numero 98 is Curate and resideth at Kells wthin two myles of it.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A castle and other houses of office vnrepayred a garden an haggard & 15 acres of land in the Incumbents possession more an acre of land detayned by Edward Betaghe the Patron and another acre detayned by Patrick Betaghe of Kells.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
100	Kilskirrein the County of Meath. Presentatiue. Richard Plunkett of Rathmore Esqr Patron.	Mr. Richard Purdam formerly specified numero 6o.	17li 15s Ir.	17s 9d Ir.	40li ster. out of wch he payeth yearely to the Lo: of Killeene 5li ster. for a pencion belonging to the colledge of Killeene graunted to it in tymes past for the mayntenance of four chaplens.	He resideth there.	The Church is somewhat ruynous. The Chauncell is ruynous but the Incumbent is in hand to repayre it.	A castle and manse house wth other houses of office now in reasonable repayre Backsides 15 acres of arable land and a close all in the possession of the Incumbent There belongeth another close to it wch the land lord of the Towne keepeth away.
101	Cruccstowne in the County of Meath. Presentatiue Mr. Couse of the Naule Gent. is Patron.	Mr. John Fitz Johns a native of the Country a reading minister.	3li 6s 8d Ir.	3s 4d Ir.	5li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell are ruynous.	A manse house in good repayre. a garden and backside & one acre of land.
102	Newtowne by Kells in the Countie of Meath. Collatiue. The lo: Bp. of Meath is Patron.	It is now voyde and sequestred into the hands of Mr. Willm. Smyth formerly specifyed numero 98 et 99.	5li 6s 8d Ir.	5s 4d Ir.	5li ster.	He resideth at Kells two myles from it.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.

	Dimages.	Encumb.	Value.	XXth part.	Value.	Residentia.	Churches.	and Gleabe Lands.
103	Girley in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr Alexander Plunket of the same Patron. Sr Patrick Barnewell Knt his Maties farmor of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. William Smyth formerly specified numero 75.	8li 15s Ir.	8s 9d Ir.	20s ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Athboy wthin two myles of it.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house and houses of office repayred a garden an haggard and backsides.
104	Moyagher in the Countie of Meath. Collatiue The lord Bp. of Meath Patron. The executors of Sr Frauncys Sheane Knt his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. William Smyth next aboue specified.	8li Ir.	8li Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth ut supra wthin two myles.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
105	Slahalnycke in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The Kings Matie Patron. Bartholemewe Dillon of Riuerstowne Esqr is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Voyde and sequestred into the hands of Mr. William Smyth formerlie specified numero 98-99 et 102.	43s 4d Ir.	2s 2d Ir.	6li ster.	He resideth at Kells wthin thre myles of it.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	A manse house and some houses of office a garden an haggard and a backside.
106	Donapatricke in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Sr Patricke Barnewell Knt is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate and Patron.	Mr. John Wingfield a preacher of good life and conversacion. Mr. William Davyes formerlie specified numero 96.	7li 15s 10d Ir.	7s 9d ob. Ir.	20markes ster.	He is now in England. The Cure resideth at the cure of the Marty about a myle of.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house and other houses of office decayed an haggard a backside and an orchard.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth.	Valew.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings.
107	Kilbegge in the Countie of Meath. Mr William Browne gent. is his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. John Fitz-Jones formerly specified numero 101.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20s ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Crucestowne about two myles of it.	The Church and Chauncell is ruynous.	None at all.
108	Robertstowne in the Countie of Meath. The same Mr Browne his Maties farmor of the rectorie being impropriate.	Mr. John Fitz-Jones next aboue specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20s ster.	He resideth vt supra about two myles of.	The Church and Chauncell is ruynous.	None at all.
109	Tellan in the Countie of Meath a Chappell of ease wth Cure belonging to the vicarage of Donapatrick numero 106.	Mr. William Davies formerlie specified numero 106.	valued wth the vicarage of Donapatrick.	valued wth the said vicarage.	An allowance from the Incumbent.	He resideth at the cure of the Martry about a myle of.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
110	Emlaghbeggan in the Countie of Meath. Katherine Basnett widow his Maties farmor of the Rectorie being impropriate.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Noe Curate to reside.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
111	Burry							
112	Rathboyne							
113	Dulcene in the Countie of Meath all three Chappells of Ease belonging to the rectory of Kells wch is belonging to the Archdeaconry of Meath for-	The Curate of Kells.	valewed wth the Archdeaconry of Meath.	valued wth the said Archdeaconry.	part of the cure of Kells.	The cure of Kells.	The Chappells are ruyned.	None at all.

Deanrie of Slane.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residen.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
114	Slane in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The lo: Baron of Slane Patron.	Mr. Thomas White of the countrey birth a preaching minister of good life and conversacion.	24li 5s 10d Ir.	24s 3d ob. Ir.	60li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A faire stone house or castle and some howses of offices reasonablie repayred a haggard and backsides. Of ancient Tyme there belonged to this Rectory a Colledge and Cd or thereaboutes acres of land and some twentie howses for maynteynaunce of foure preistes foure Clarkes and foure Quiresters. The walles of the College are yet standing & adioining to the psonage house. All wch haue of long tyme beene in the possession of the lo. of Slane but by what right it is not knowne.
115	Nobber in the Countie of Meath. This Rectorie belongeth to the archdeaconry of Kells als Nobber wch is really vnited to the Bpricke of Meath as is formerly specified among the Dignities numero 3o.	Mr. William Medcalfe a reading minister.	29li 5s 10d Ir.	29s 3d ob. ster.	. . . . .	The curate resideth at a vicarage of his about two myles of.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residen.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
116	Stacallan in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Mr Barnewell of Crickstowne Patron.	Mr. Edw. Sowtherne a preaching minister of good life & conversacion formerly specified numero 2do et 25.	10li Ir.	10s Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	A manse house and houses of office 3 small mesuages all well repayred by the Incumbent. A garden and backside, & five small closes all in the Incumbents possession. More two messuages kept from him by Mr Robert Barnewell of the same gent.
117	Kilberry in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. Mr Errward of Randollstowne gent. Patron.	Mr. William Phillips formerly specifyed numero 46 et 85.	18li Ir.	18s Ir.	40li ster.	He resideth at the Rectory of Ardmulgham being about two myles of and dischargeth both cures.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonablie well repayred.	A manse house or castle and some houses of office reasonablie repayred. An haggard & backside. A farme of iiijxx acres of land called Castleton in the parish of Donapatrick passed in fee farme Ao 1571 to Plunket of Teltan by John Errward the then Incumbent. Hugh then lo. Bp. and Richard Errward of Randellstowne then Patron for the rent of iijli ster. reserved to the Incumbent.

Deanrie of Slane.

	Rectories.	Incumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residen.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
114 ☞	Slane in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The lo: Baron of Slane Patron.	Mr. Thomas White of the countrey birth a preaching minister of good life and conversacion.	24li 5s 10d Ir.	24s 3d ob. Ir.	60li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A faire stone house or castle and some howses of offices reasonablie repayred a haggard and backsides. Of ancient Tyme there belonged to this Rectory a Colledge and Cd or thereaboutes acres of land and some twentie howses for maynteynaunce of foure preistes foure Clarkes and foure Quiresters. The walles of the College are yet standing & adioining to the psonage house. All wch haue of long tyme beene in the possession of the lo. of Slane but by what right it is not knowne.
115	Nobber in the Countie of Meath. This Rectorie belongeth to the archdeaconry of Kells als Nobber wch is really vnited to the Bprick of Meath as is formerly specified among the Dignities numero 3o.	Mr. William Medcalfe a reading minister.	29li 5s 10d Ir.	29s 3d ob. ster.	. . . . .	The curate resideth at a vicarage of his about two myles of.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Residenti.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
121	Knough in the County of Meath. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath patron.	Mr. Willm. Smyth formerly specifyed numero.	6li 2s 6d Ir.	6s 1d ob. Ir.	7li ster.	He resideth at his cure of Kells for the vse of his ministry where he preacheth every Sunday haueing few or none in this parish wch come to the church he serueth this cure also being about 4 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell are somewhat ruynous.	A manse house well repayred and backsides and three acres of arrable land.
122	Bonmowe in the County of Meath. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath patron.	Mr. Robert Nicol formerly specifyed numero 84.	7li 16s 8d Ir.	7s 10d Ir.	10li ster.	He resideth at his cure of Ardbrackhan for the vse of his ministery where he preacheth every Sunday haueing none in this parish wch come to church. he also serueth this cure.	The Church reasonably repayred. The Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house alltogether ruyned a backside and three acres of land in the Incumbents possession. More two acres of land kept from him by Mr Darcey of the same gent.
123	Strockestowne in the County of Meath Presentatiue. Mr John Stoakes of the same gent. is patron.	Mr. William Metcalf formerly specified numero 115 he also serueth this cure.	9li 3s 4d Ir.	9s 2d Ir.	5li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Sydan not far from thence.	The Church and Churchyard and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house repayred a backside and tenne acres of land.
124	Clongell in the County of Meath Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron.	Mr. James Trench formerly specifyed numero 72 he serueth this cure also.	1li Ir.	1s Ir.	24li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A castle and manse house and other houses of office well repayred a garden two backsides and 12 acres of land.

	Rectories.	Incumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
125	Drakestowne in the County of Meath Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron.	Mr. James Trench next aboue specifyed he serueth this cure also.	10li 17s 6d Ir.	10s 10d ob. Ir.	24li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Clongell and serueth this cure also being about a myle distant.	The Church and Chauncell somewhat ruynous.	A manse house, a small backside and three acres of land.
126	Killary in the County of Meath Presentatiue. The lo. Baron of Slane Patron. This is a vicarage endowed vt sequit.	Mr. George Sing Mr of Artes a preacher. Chaplen to the lo. Primate of good life and conversacion lately admitted to it.	20li 8s Ir.	20s 3d Ir.	This rectory is worth 40li p. ann. but in lease to Rowland Plunket of Hearonstowne gent. for some yeares yet to come for the yearely rent of 8li Ir.	He resideth in the Dioces of Armagh.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Valuacon.	XXth part.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
127	Killary in the County of Meath Presentatiue. The lord Baron of Slane Patron. The Rectory next before specifyed.	Mr. William War formerly specified numero 3o. He is an old man and hath beene lately long sick by reason whereof he is not able as yet to attend his cures.	3li 10s Ir.	3s 6d Ir.	6li ster.	He resideth at the cure of Kentstowne formerly specified numero 3o about 7 myles from thence.	vt prox. supra.	

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Valuacions.	XXth part.	Value.	Residenti.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
128	Syddan in the County of Meath Presentatiue. Edward Flemming of the same gent. patron and his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Willm. Metcalfe formerly specified numero 115 et 123 he serueth all three cures.	8^li 10^s 10^d Ir.	8^s 6^d ob. Ir.	7^li ster.	He resideth there.	Church and [illegible] are [illegible] vn-	A manse house well repayred and backsides and three acres of arrable land.
129	Killpatricke in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The Kings Matie is patron. James Nettervill of Tubertyne in the County of Kildare gent. is his Maties farmo^r of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Willm. Smyth formerly specified numero 102 et 105 he serueth this cure also.	5^li 16^s 8^d Ir.	5^s 10^d Ir.	15^li ster.	He resideth at his cure of Kells about 5 myles from thence.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonably well repayred.	[illegible] allto- a hree the es- [illegible]
130	Bonamore in the County of Meath presentative. The Kings Matie is patron. The lo. viscount Nettervill farmo^r to his Matie of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Thomas White formerly specifyed numero 114 et 120 he also serueth this cure.	9^li 10^s Ir.	9^s 6^d Ir.	15^li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Slane being about iij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	A manse [illegible] certaine ba[illegible]
131	Rathkenny in the County of Meath Presentative. The lo. viscount Moore patron and his Maties farmo^r of the rectory impropriat.	Mr. John Robynson minister. M^r of Artes.	10^li 10^s Ir.	10^s 6^d Ir.	7^li ster.	He resideth and serveth the cure.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse and some backsides.

132	Betethe in the County of Meath. The lo. viscount Moore is his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Nicholas Tedder specifyed numero 11°. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4^li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Clonalvey iiij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell reasonably repayred.	A manse house and backside and 15 acres of land.
133	Graungeethe in the County of Meath. The lord viscount Moore farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	The said Mr. Nicholas Tedder. He serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3^li ster.	He resideth vt supra about 5 myles off.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	A manse house and backside.
134	Munknewtowne in the County of Meath. The lo: viscount Moore is his Matie farmo^r of the rectory being impropriate.	The same Mr. Nicholas Tedder. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3^li ster.	He resideth vt supra about 5 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie well repayred.	None at all.
135	Killshenny in the County of Meath. Sr Roger Jones Kn^t farmo^r of the impropriate rectory.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nothing worth.	No thing to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
136	Ennismoughton in the County of Meath. The Sherifes of the Towne of Drogheda for the Tyme being farmo^rs of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. William Metcalfe specifyed numero 111, 123 et 128. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	xx^s ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Syddan about iiij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
137	Enniskeane Ardagh Chappells of ease belonging to the rectory of the Nobber.							

	Vicarages.	Encumb.	Valuacions.	XXth part.	Value.	Residenti.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
128 ☞	Syddan in the County of Meath Presentatiue. Edward Flemming of the same gent. patron and his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Willm. Metcalfe formerly specified numero 115 et 123 he serueth all three cures.	8li 10s 10d Ir.	8s 6d ob. Ir.	7li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house repayred a garden and backsides.
129 ☞	Killpatricke in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The Kings Matie is patron. James Nettervill of Tubertyne in the County of Kildare gent. is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Willm. Smyth formerly specified numero 102 et 105 he serueth this cure also.	5li 16s 8d Ir.	5s 10d Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth at his cure of Kells about 5 myles from thence.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonably well repayred.	A castle and manse house not well repayered wth backsides and fiue acres of land.
130 ☞	Donamore in the County of Meath presentative. The Kings Matie is patron. The lo. viscount Nettervill farmor to his Matie of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Thomas White formerly specifyed numero 114 et 120 he also serueth this cure.	9li 10s Ir.	9s 6d Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Slane being about iij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	A manse house wth certaine backsides.
131	Rathkenny in the County of Meath Presentative. The lo. viscount Moore patron and his Maties farmor of the	Mr. John Robynson minister. Mr of Artes.	10li 10s Ir.	10s 6d Ir.	7li ster.	He resideth and serveth the cure.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse and some backsides.

132	Dowthe in the County of Meath. The lo. viscount Moore is his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Nicholas Tedder specifyed numero 11°. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4^li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Clonalvey iiij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell reasonably repayred.	A manse house and backside and 15 acres of land.
133	Graungeethe in the County of Meath. The lord viscount Moore farmo^r of the impropriate Rectory.	The said Mr. Nicholas Tedder. He serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3^li ster.	He resideth vt supra about 5 myles off.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	A manse house and backside.
134	Munknewtowne in the County of Meath. The lo: viscount Moore is his Maties farmo^r of the rectory being impropriate.	The same Mr. Nicholas Tedder. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3^li ster.	He resideth vt supra about 5 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie well repayred.	None at all.
135	Killshenny in the County of Meath. Sr Roger Jones Kn^t farmo^r of the impropriate rectory.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nothing worth.	No thing to reside vppon.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
136	Ennismoughton in the County of Meath. The Sherifes of the Towne of Drogheda for the Tyme being farmo^rs of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. William Metcalfe specifyed numero 111, 123 et 128. he serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	xx^s ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Syddan about iiij myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
137	Enniskeane Ardagh Chappells of ease belonging to the rectory of the Nobber.							

Deanry of Clonard.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
137 [sic] ☞	Castlerickard in the Countie of Meath. Presentative. Henry Burnell of the same patron.	Mr. Myles Pemberton Batchelor of Artes a Preacher of good life and conversacion.	6li Ir.	6s Ir.	20li ster. p. annu.	He resideth there and serveth the cure diligently.	The Church and Chauncell somewhat ruynous.	A good manse wth houses of office well repayred a garden and backside. A close and three acres and halfe of arrable land.
138 ☞	Killagh in the County of Westmeath. Presentatiue. Mr Nugent of the same patron.	Mr. Bartholemew Hatton a reading minister of honest conuersacion.	5li Ir.	5s Ir.	20marks ster.	He is a single man and boardeth wth Mr Edwd Hatton his vnkle wthin 5 myles and serueth this cure.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	
139 ☞	Rathwyer als Killucken in the County of Westmeath Presentatiue The Earle of Clanrikard patron. Herevnto belongeth a vicarage endowed vt infra. The lo. Bp of Meath challengeth the patro-	Mr. John Carter Mr of Artes a preacher of good life and honest conuersacion.	43li 13s 4d Ir.	43s 8d Ir.	120li ster.	He resideth there and serueth the Cure diligently.	The Church is reasonably repayred. The Chauncell is somewhat ruynous, but the Incumbent is in hand to repayre it.	A fayre house or castle wth houses of office well repayred. a garden an haggard and backside and halfe an acre of gleabe land and two messuages wth their backsides well repayred.

140	Rathwyer als Killucken in the County of Westmeath Presentative. The patron next aboue specifyed.	Mr. John Carter next aboue specified. They are both vnited dureing his Incumbency by the late lo. Bp of Meath deceased.	22li 6s 8d Ir.	22s 4d Ir.	50li ster.	He resideth vt prox ante.	vt prox ante.	A small castle and manse house well repayred wth backsides and two messuages wth their backsides well repayred.
141	Clonard in the County of Meath. presentative. The lord Bp of Meath patron. Sr Thomas Ash Knt his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Alexander Sharpe formerly specifyed numero 86. he serueth this cure also.	12li 18s 4d Ir.	10s 11d Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth	The Church is reasonably repaired. The Chauncell somewhat ruyned.	A small manse house and backside.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacon.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
142	Killian in the County of Meath. Sr John King Knt his Maties farmor of the rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Myles Pemberton specified numero 137. He serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	50s ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Castlerickard two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruynous.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacon.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
143	Ballibogan in the County of Meath. Sr ffrauncys Rush Knt farmor of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. John Ridgwell a reading minister of good life and conversacion.	Nihil.	Nihil.	7li ster. stipend.	He resideth at another cure of his wthin two myles.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	None at all.
144	Castleiordan in the County of Meath. Sr ffrauncys Rush Knt farmor of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. John Ridgwell next above specified. He serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	7li ster. stipend.	He resideth there and serueth this cure also.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
145	Clondalcy is a Chappell of ease wthout cure belonging to the rectorie of Rathwyer specified numero 139.	The parson and vicar of Rathwyer.	Valued wth the rectory and vicarage of Rathwyer.	Valued wth the rectory and vicarage of Rathwyer.	Valued wth the said rectory and vicarage.	He resideth at Rathwyer.	The Chappell is altogether ruyned.	None at all.

	Rectories.	Incumb.	Valuacon.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
146	Killmellagh in the County of Westmeath. The lo. viscount of Drogheda Patron.	Mr. Thomas Greaues specified numero 78.	13li 20d Ir.	13s 1d Ir.	This rectory is worth 60li ster. p. an. but leased in Ao 1605 by John Brennan then Incumbent and Sr Garrett Moore Knt nowe lo. Viscount of Drogheda patron thereof. and the Reuerend father in God Thomas Jones then lo. Bp of Meath to Robert Bath of Dromconragh gent. wth all castles houses lands tithes and other duties thervnto belonging for the Tearme of 61 yeares reseruing yearely the rent of 10li Ir. to the Incumbent wch lease is wth meane conveyance come vnto the lo. viscount of Drogheda and Thomas Nugent of Drogheda Alderm. is his subfarmor thereof.	He resideth in the dioces not farre from thence and serueth this cure also.	The Church and Chauncell reasonablie repayred.	A castle and some houses of office and 30 acres of arable land all in the possession of the lesse.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valuacon.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
147	Clonarney in the County of Westmeath Presentative. William Moore of Rosmeed gent. Patron.	Mr. Edward Hatton a M^{r} of Artes and a preacher of good life and conversacion.	Not taxed.	Not taxed.	10^{li} ster.	He resideth at a vicarage of his called Castle towne Delvyn his rectory standing in the midst of this parish & sometymes he resideth at another liveing of his in the Dioces of Clogher when he is residing he serueth the cure himself and in his absence it is served by Mr Bartholomew Hatton his curate specified numero 138.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonably repayred.	A small manse house and some houses of office well repayred wth a backside.
	Lynn in the County of Westmeath. Presentative. Nicholas Darcye of Platten Esqr Patron.	Mr. John Mountfeild a reading minister of the countrey birth of honest life and conversacion and paynfull in his ministry.	40^{s} Ir.	2^{s} Ir.	29^{li} ster.	He resideth	The Church ruyned. The Chauncell reasonably well repayred.	A manse house & houses of office. a small garden and orchard and two acres of meadow repayred and in the Incumbents possession. More there is belonging vnto it 15 acres of arable land called Ballam^{e} Colman detayned by Captayne Richard Tirrell.

149	Moylisker in the County of West Meath. Presentatiue. Garrett Russell of Russellstowne gent. Patrone.	Mr. Mountfeild next aboue specified.	10s 10d Ir.	6d ob. Ir.	6li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Lynne next aboue specified being about a myle from thence.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house and an house of office and foure acres of arrable land in the Incumbents possession. More three acres of arable land detayned by Thomas Darcy of Baconstowne in the county of Kildare gent.
150	Carrigge in the County of West Meath. Presentatiue. John ffrayne of the same Patron.	Mr. Daniell Oge Mc Grannell a reading minister of the country birth.	2s 6d Ir.	1d ob. Ir.	8li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A small house in the church yeard.
151	Clonfadforan in the County of West Meath. Presentatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron.	Mr. Myles Pemberton specified numero 137 et 142, he serueth this cure also.	4li 2s ob. Ir.	4s 8d qr. Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Castlerickard being about six myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	Tenne acres of gleabe land in the Incumbents possession. More a place for a manse house wth two acres of arable land and some little pcells of land in the feilds of that towne and Templehoran detayned by Richard Tyrrell of Newcastle in the county of Westmeath gent.

	Rectories.	Encumbent.	Valuacon.	XXth part.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
152	Killbride pilate in the County of West Meath. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron.	Mr. Thomas Lisley a reading minister of good life and conversacion.	13s 4d Ir.	8d Ir.	7li ster.	He resideth there.	The Church is very ruyned. The Chauncell is ruyned but the Incumbent is in hand to repayre and hath allready built the walles.	There is no manse. one acre of land in the feilds of the Parace of Kilbried detayned by Garrett Tirrell of the same gent. One acre neere the towne of Milton detayned by Edmond Bermingham of the same gent. one acre and somewhat more in the feilds of Glaston by Conly Mc Keigan of the same gent.
153	Disartaley in the County of West Meath. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron.	No Incumbent.	40s Ir.	2s ster.	No thing for that Edmond Nugent late of Rathconnell Esqr deceased held the same as an impropriacion & dyed so possessed thereof.	No Incumbent to reside.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	There is none at all.

154	Multifarnam in the County of West Meath Presentative. Mr Andrew Nugent of Donmore Esqr patron but now the patronage is challenged by the lo. Bp. of Meath.	Mr. Gilbert Purdam specifyed numero 2do.	8li 10s Ir.	6s 11d Ir.	20li ster. This rectory is worth 40li ster. yearely but in lease wth all things therevnto belonging to Edmond Nugent Esqr deceased aboue specified num. 153. for the rent of 4li Ir. yearely reserved to the Incumbent.	He is in England by licence from his Matie. Mr. John Mountfeild formerly specified numero 148 et 149. serveth the cure and resideth at Lynn fiue myles of.	The Church and Chauncell reasonably repayred.	No manse nor landes.
155	Taghmoone in the County of Westmeath Collatiue. The lo. Bp. of Meath patrone.	No Incumbent it is sequestred to Mr. Robert Shipley specified numero 73. he serveth this cure also.	6li 18s 4d Ir.	6s 11d Ir.	The said lessee hath also the advowson graunted to him for so many times as happen dureing his lease.	He resideth in the Dioces not farre from thence.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all in the possession of the Sequestrator.

	Vicarages.	Encumb.	Valuacō.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
156	Molingar in the Countie of West Meath. Presentatiue. Garrett Pettit of Irishtowne Esqr patron. The lo: Viscount of Drogheda farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Willm. Sibthorpe a Mr of Artes a good preacher of good life and conversacion and very paynfull in his ministry.	5li 15s Ir.	5s 9d Ir.	30li ster.	He resideth there	The Church is reasonably repayred. The Chauncell is ruynous.	A fayre castle and houses of office A garden an haggard and a quarter of an acre of land.
157	Castletondelyon in the Countie of Westmeath. The lo: Viscount of Drogheda patron and his Maties farmor of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. Edward Hatton specifyed num 147.	14li 8s 4d Ir.	14s 11d Ir.	30li ster.	He resideth some tymes there and some tymes at his liueing in the Dioces of Clougher in his absence the cure is supplied by Mr Bartholemew Hatton specified num. 138 et 147.	The Church and Chauncell are reasonably repayred.	A castle and houses of office. a backside and 33 acres of land in the vicars possession.
158	Rathconnell in the County of Westmeath. Presentatiue. The lo: Viscount of Drogheda patrone is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. James Byram a preaching minister.	56s 8d Ir.	2s 10d Ir.	15li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A small castle at the east end of the Chauncell. Three acres and three stangs of land in the Incumbents possession. More 7 acres of land in the feilds of Balreagh detayned by Thomas Nugent of the same gent. More seauen acres of land in the feilds of

	Parishes.	Curates.	Valuac.	XXth part.	Valew.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
159	Portnehangan in the County of Westmeath. Presentatiue. Richard Delamere of Ballinfiddie gent. patron. The heyres or Executors of Edmond Nugent late of Rathconnell Esqr deceased his Maties farmo^r of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. James Byram next aboue specified he serueth this cure also.	48^s 4^d Ir.	2^s 5^d Ir.	3^li ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Rathconnell about two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	A manse house well repayred in the possession of the vicar and three acres of Gleabe land. Mr. Richard Delamere the patron detayneth certayne houses and certaine backsides belonging to the Vicar.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuac.	XXth part.	Valew.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabes.
160 161 162	Archerstowne Cruanstowne Cowladoghran in Westmeath Three Chappells of ease w^thout cure belonging to the vicarage of Castleton delvyn specifyed numero 157.	The Vicar of Castleton delvyn.	Valued with that vicarage.	Valued with that vicarage.	Valued wth that vicarage.	Att Castleton Delvyn.	The Chappells are all ruyned.	Specified in the vicarage of Castleton delvyn.
163 64	Ballreagh Crossenderry in the County of Westmeath. Two Chappells of ease w^thout Cure belonging to the vicarage of Rathconnell num. 158.	The Vicar of Rathconnell ibm.	Valued wth that vicarage.	Valued wth that vicarage.	Valued wth that vicarage.	Att the vicarage of Rathconnell.	The Chappells are out of repaire.	Noe thing but what is specified wth the vicarage of Rathconnell.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valuacō.	XXth part.	Valew.	Residentia.	Churches.	Buildings and Glebes.
165	Kilbrideweston in the Countie of Westmeath. Sr Fraunceys Rush Knt farmor to his Matie of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Danyell Oge McGrannell specified num. 150. he serueth this cure also.	40s Ir. but neuer payed, but for that it is impropriate.	2s Ir. but neuer paied for that it is impropriate.	30li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Carigge about 4 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
166	Cumscolly als Enniscoye in the County of Westmeath. Sr James Carrall Knt his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. John Mountfeild formerly specifyed num. 145. 149. et 154. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Lynne about 4 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
167	Portloman in the County of Westmeath. The widow Cosgraue of Dublin his Maties farmor of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. John Mountfeild next aboue specified. he serueth this cure allso.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30s ster.	He resideth vt supra about 4 myles of.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
168	Stonehall als Aula lapidea in the County of Westmeath. Robert Forth gent. his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. John Mountfeild next aboue specified he serueth this also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	He farmeth the rectory of his Maties farmor and is tied by his bargayne to serue the cure.	He resideth vt supra about six myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Dutie.	Ability part.	Dutie.	[illegible]	[illegible]	and Glebes.
169	Castlelost in the County of Westmeath. Mr Phillip Hore of Killsanghan in the county of Dublin gent. And the wydow Cosgraue of Dublin his Maties farmors of the impropriate Rectorye.	Mr. Danyell Oge McGrannell specifyed num. 150 et 165. He serveth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	3li ster. stipend paid by the farmors of the impropriate rectory.	He resideth at his rectory of Carrigg about two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell altogether ruyned.	None at all.
170	Lackney als Lacken in the County of Westmeath. Mr Henry Piers of Tristernaught Esqr his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Henry Parr a reading minister.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend paid by the farmor of the impropriate rectory.	He resideth sometymes here and sometymes at other Cures of his.	The Church reasonably repayred. The Chauncell vncouered.	None at all.
171	Leny in the County of Westmeath. Mr Henry Peirs of Tristernaught Esq his Maties farmor of the impropriate rectory.	None.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend paid by his Maties farmor of the impropriacion.	He resideth sometymes there and sometymes at his other Cures being all distant each from other about two myles.	The Church and Chauncell vncouered.	None at all.
172	Stafernam als Tafarnam in the County of Westmeath. Mr Henry Peirs next aboue specified his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	None.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nothing.	None to reside.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth part.	Faleo.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings. and Gleabe Lands.
179	Kilmacnehan in the County of Westmeath. Mr Henry Peirs of Tristernaught his Mats farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Henry Parr formerly specified num. 170 & 171. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend.	He resideth sometymes there and sometymes at his other cure.	The Church ruynous. The Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
180	Kilbiskey in the County of Westmeath. Mr Henry Peirs aforesaid is his Mats farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Henry Parr next aboue said.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church is ruynous. The Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
181	Templebozan in the County of Westmeath. The said Mr Peirs is his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Parr next aboue named.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
182	Lodgarbick in the County of Westmeath. Sr John Draycott Knt is his Maties farmor of the Impropriate Rectory.	Noe Curate.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Noe allowance.	None to reside.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

183	**Kilkenny** in the County of Westmeath. The lo: Dillon farmor to his Matie of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. John Ankers formerly specified num. 178. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4li ster. stipend.	He resideth at his vicarage of Athloane about 3 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
183 [sic]	**Castletowne Kendaleene** in the County of Westmeath. Alexander Hope of Molengar gent. is his Maties farmor of the rectory being Impropriate.	Mr. Thomas Lisley formerly specified num. 152. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Kilbried pilate about foure myles distant from thence.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
184	**Churchestowne** in the County of Westmeath. The said Mr Alexander Hope is his Maties farmor of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. Thomas Lisley next aboue specifyed, he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster. stipend.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
185	**Dasinny** a Chappell of ease belonging to the vicarage of Dromrany 178.	The Vicar of Dromrany.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Valued wth the vicarage of Dromrany.	He resideth at Athloane.	No part of the Chappell left.	None at all.
186	**Moytore** als Temple-patrick in the County of Westmeath. Sr Robert Dillon Knt his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. William Morehead formerly specified num. 173. 177. he serueth this cure allso.	Nihil.	Nihil.	25s ster. stipend.	He resideth at his rectory of Almoritia about a myle distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.

	Cures.	Curates.	Valua.	XXth part.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and Gleabe Lands.
187	Killare in the County of Westmeath. Sr John Draycott Knt is his Maties farmor of the Rectory being impropriate.	Mr. Morehead next aboue specified, he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4li ster. stipend.	He resideth vt supra little more then a myle distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
188 189 190	Bonowne in Monghwall Cloncall als Forgney three Chappells of ease belonging to the rectory of Ballymore Loxewdy.	The Curate of Ballymore.	Taxed wth the rectory of Ballymore Loxewdy.	Taxed wth the rectory of Ballymore Loxewdy.	patet in the cure of Ballymore Loxewdye.	He resideth vt supra.	The Chappells ruynous.	None at all.
191 192	Lonnaugh Londranagh Chappells of ease belonging to the Church of Templehoran Numero 181.	The Curate of Templehoran.	Nihil.	Nihil.	wth the stipend of Templehoran.	. . . . .	These Chappells are ruyned.	None at all.
193 194 195	Empar Villapagan Mestina. These are wasted and noe memory of them.	Noe Curates.	Nihil.	Nihil.	No value.	None to reside.	Noe Churches	None at all.
196	St. Thomas of Loxewdy An old Abbay.	Noe Curate.						

Deanry of Ardmurgher als Ballimurgher.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	Twentieth.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
197	Newtonfirtullagh in the Countie of Westmeath. Collatiue. The lo. Bishop of Meath Patron.	Mr. Thomas Pillyn a Batchelor of divinitie of good life and conversacion.	43s 4d Ir.	2s 2d Ir.	20li ster.	He resideth at Dublin.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	
	Cures. Vicarages.	**Curates. Encumb.**						
198	Ardmurgher als Ballimurgher in the Countie of Westmeath. Collatiue. The lo. Bishop of Meath Patron. Sr Willm. Colley his Maties farmor of the Impropriacon.	Mr. Thomas Pillyn next aboue specified.	Not taxed.	Not taxed.	50li ster.	He resideth at Dublin.	The Church ruynous. The Chauncell repayred.	300 acres of glebe set out by K. James but the Incumbent hath no more than 188.
199	Fercall in the Kings Countie. Collatiue. The lo. Bp. of Meath patron. Sr Willm. Colley Knight and the Executors of Sr William Sarsfeild Knight and the Widow Cosgraue of Dublin farmors of the Impropriate rectorie.	Mr. Neale Moloy a natiue a Mr of Artes and a preacher of good life and conversacion.	26li 13s 4d Ir.	26s 8d Ir.	50li ster.	He resideth	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	

	Cures.	Curates.	Value.	XXth.	Value.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
200	Kilbeggan in the County of Westmeath. The Lady Lambert his Maties farmor of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr John Stearne a Mr of Artes a good preacher of good life and conuersacion.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40li ster. stipend allowed by the Lady Lambert.	He resideth	Noe Church nor Chauncell but the Lady Lambert is now in hand to build it.	None at all.
201	Dirrowes in the Kings County. Sr Edward Harbert Knt his Maties farmor of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Robert Shepley formerly specifyed num. 73 et 155, he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	10li ster. stipend allowed by Sr Edward Herbert Knight.	He resideth sometymes there and sometymes at his other cures.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all
202	Rathewe	The Vicar of Ardmurgher.	Nihil.	Nihil.	valued wth the vicarage of Ardmulgher.	. . . . .	The Churches are ruynous.	
203	Kilcromreagh							
204	Kilmanahan							
205	Kilbridtangam							
206	Conrey							
207	Rathenge Chappells of ease belonging to the vicarage of Ardmulgher specyfied num. 198.							
	Eglishmeagan	The Vicar of Fircall.	Taxed wth the vicarage of Fircall.	Taxed wth the vicarage of Fircall.	Valued wth the vicarage of Fircall.	Resident in Fircall.	The Chappells ruyned.	
208	Rathleyne							
209	Ballaboye							
210	Dromcallan							
211	Dallenalley							
212	Killaghbye							
213	Kilbridmoylyn in the Kings Countie. All these are Chappells of ease belonging to the vicarage of Fircall num. 199.							
215	Kilbride in the Kings Countie A Chappell of	The Church of Dirrowes.						

Deanry of Fower.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings and glebes.
216 ☞	Killallon in the County of Meath. Presentatiue. The lo: Baron of Killeene patron.	Mr. Richard Purdam formerly specified num. 6. et 100. he serueth this cure also.	11li 10s Ir.	11s 6d Ir.	40li sterling.	He resideth at his vicarage of Killskirre specified num. 100 about three myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell somewhat ruynous.	A manse house and some houses of office not well repayred, foure messuages in the Towne of Killallon. A close contayning one acre. And certayne lands in the feilds of Galboystowne out of wch the Incumbent hath 11s 4d rent p. annu. Certayne landes in Killallon detayned by the Lady Dowager of Killeene.
217 ☞	Moylaghe in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. Patrick Barnewell of Crickstowne Esqr patron.	Mr. Robert Trauers a Mr of Artes in Deacons orders.	7li 5s Ir.	7s 3d Ir.	30li ster.	He commonly resideth at Tryme in this Dioces Mr. Alexander Plunket a natiue of the countrey a scoller a reading minister of good life and conversacon Curate, he resideth at his vicarage of Loughcrew two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell reasonably repayred.	A little castle at the west end of the church.

	Rectories.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
218	Castlecorre in the Countie of Meath. Presentatiue. The lo. Baron of Donsany patron.	Mr. John Fitz Jones formerly specified num. 101. 107. 108. Mr. John Agone a natiue in Deacon orders is Curate there.	3li 6s 8d Ir.	3s 4d Ir.	40li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Conceston about eight myles distant. The Curate resideth	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A manse house a backside and three acres of land.
219	Clonbrency in the County of Meath Presentatiue Oliver Plunket of the same gent. patron.	Oliver Plunket a natiue a scholler a reading minister of good life and conversacon.	Not taxed.	2d ster.	5li ster.	He resideth and serueth the cure.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.

	Vicarages.	Encumb.	Valua.	XXth.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
220	Dlamore in the County of Meath Presentatiue. Sr Robert Dillon Knt patron. Henry Peirs Esqr his Maties farmor of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. James Areskin formerly specified num. 174 et 175. Mr. Oliver Plunkett next before specified Curate and serueth this cure also.	50s Ir.	2s 6d	10li ster.	He resideth at his rectory of Rathconnerth specified num. 174. being about 16 myles distant. The Curate resideth at his rectory of Clonbreny not two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	Two small houses out of repayre a backside and seauen acres of land.
221	Oldcastle in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. The lo. Baron of Donsany patron. The Earle of	Mr. Nicholas Smyth als Agone a native a reading minister of good life and	Not taxed.	Not taxed.	9li ster.			

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Valua.	XXth.	Valets.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
222	Loughcrew in the Countie of Meath Presentatiue. Thomas Plunkett of Loughcrew Esq[r] patron Henry Peirs Esq[r] his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Alexander Plunket specified num. 217.	4[li] 5[s] Ir.	4[s] 3[d] Ir.	10[li] ster.	He resideth and serueth this cure allso.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	Two small houses a backside and two acres of land.
223	Kilkenie in the Countie of Westmeath. Presentatiue. The Kings Ma[ties] patron. The Earle of Westmeath is his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Willm Sibthorpe formerly specified num. 150. Mr. John Agone formerly speed numero 218 Curate and serueth this cure allso.	6[li] 16[s] 8[d] Ir.	6[s] 10[d] Ir.	20[marks] ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Molengar about 6 myles distant. The Curate resideth sometymes and sometymes at his other cures being not farre asunder.	The Church and Chauncell well repayred.	A small castle at the west end of the church, and two peells contayning one acre.
224	Lickblae in the County of Westmeath presentatiue. The Earle of Westmeath his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate Rectory. The Kings Ma[tie] is patron.	Mr. Willm Sybthorpe next aboue. Mr. John Agone next aboue specified Curate. he serueth this cure allso.	Not taxed.	Not taxed.	20[marks] ster.	He resideth vt supra. The Curate resideth sometymes there and sometymes at his other cures.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A manse house wth some houses of office. A garden and haggard in the vicars possession An acre of meadow in the late Incumbents possession but now detayned by Robert Nugent of Carrolanstowne Esq[r].
225	Fanghley in the Countie of Westmeath. Presentatiue. The Earle of Westmeath patron and his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Thomas Greaves formerly specified num. 78 et 146. He serueth this cure also.	5[li] 13[s] 4[d] Ir.	5[s] 8[d] Ir.	20[li] ster.	He resideth at another vicarage of his next following being two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	A small house two acres of land.

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Value.	XXth.	Valet.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
226	Ragarff in the Countie of Westmeath Presentatiue. The Earle of Westmeath is patron and his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Thomas Greaves next aboue specified. he serueth this cure allso.	5[li] 2[s] 6[d] Ir.	5[s] 1[d] ob. Ir.	7[li] ster.	He resideth there.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	A small house and one acre of land.

	Cures.	Curates.	Value.	XXth part.	Valet.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
227	St. Marres of Foure in the Countie of Westmeath. The Earl of Westmeath his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Patrick Agone a Native and a reading minister.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30[s] ster.	He resideth and serueth the cure.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
228	St. Feighines of Fower in the Countie of Westmeath. The Earle of Westmeath his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the impropriate rectory.	Mr. Patrick Agone next aboue specified.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30[s] ster.	He resideth vt supra.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
229	Fopran in the Countie of Westmeath. The Earle of Westmeath his Ma[ties] farmo[r] of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. Alexander Plunket formerly specified num. 217 et 222. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4[li] ster.	He resideth at his vicarage of Loughcrew about 5 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
230	Kilpatricke in the County of Westmeath. The Earle of Westmeath his Ma[ties]	Mr. Alexander Plunkett aboue specified. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	30[s] ster.	He resideth vt supra about 6 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.

231	Bromcree in the Countie of Westmeath. ☞ Mr John Gooding of Dublin his Maties farmor of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Alexander Plunket next aboue specified he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	40s ster.	He resideth vt supra about 5 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
232	Killiagh in the Countie of Meath. ☞ Mr Thomas Flemynge of Cabragh Esqr his Maties farmor of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Plunket next aboue specified, he serueth this cure allso.	Nihil.	Nihil.	4li ster.	He resideth vt supra about two myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell repayred.	None at all.
233	Ferkill a Chappell of ease belonging to the Church of St Maryes of Fower num. 228.							
234	Archidcorum als Temple-ffannagh a Chappell of ease belonging to the Church of St Feighines of Fower num. 228.							

Deanry of Clonmacknoshe als Ballilloughloe.

This Deanry was in Tymes past a Bishoppricke and now vnited to the B^prick^ of Meath.

There hath ben in Tymes past belonging to that Bishoppricke A Deanry yet continueing, An Archdeaconry And Twelve Prebendaryes, all long since wasted and extinct, wch all were maynteyned by the offrings and funeralls. The Churches of Clonmacknoshe being the auncyent buriall places of the Kings of Ireland and of the best of the nobility of the same.

There is in one Church yard Tenne Churches whereof two are in reasonablie good repayre.

The libeinges of the sayd Deanry.

Deanry of Clonemacknoshe. The lo. B^p^ of Meath patron.	Mr. William Lester Deane.	Nihil.	Nihil.	There belongeth to ye Deane or Deanry of Clonemacknoshmuchland in the countie of Westmeath and Connaught, and they and all other the profits of that dignity are leased by the now Incumbent and 6^li^ ster. p. ann. only resorued.			

Archdeaconry of Clonmacknoch extinct and wasted nothing worth

	Dialogues.	Encumb.	Dalua.	Xxiy part.	Dalew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
235	Ballilloughloe in the County of Westmeath. A mensall belonging to the Bprick of Meath. The lo: Dillon farmor to his Matie of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. John Ankers formerly specified num. 178 et 182. He serueth this cure allso.	Taxed wth the Bpricke	Taxed with the Bprick	15li ster.	The Curate resideth at Athloane about 3 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.
236	Kilcleagh in the County of Westmeath. Collatiue. The lo: Bp of Meath patron. The lo: Dillon his Maties farmor of the Impropriate rectory.	Mr. Ankers next aboue specified. He serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	15li ster.	He resideth at Athloane about three myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	One acre of gleabe land.
237	Athloane in the Countie of Westmeath. The lo: Dillon his Maties farmor of the Impropriate rectory. Collatiue. The lo: Bp of Meath patrone.	Mr. Ankers next aboue specified. he serueth this cure also.	Nihil.	Nihil.	20li ster.	He resideth and serueth this cure allso.	The Church and Chauncell are now in building a new.	A manse and houses of office, 4 messuages a garden and 4 acres of land inclosed.
238	Clonemacknosh in the Kings Countie. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath patron. The lo. Dillon his Maties farmor of the Impropriate rectory.	Voyde and sequestred into the hands of Mr. John Ankers next aboue specified. It is of so small value that none will accept of it to take it in Title.	Nihil.	Nihil.	5li ster.	The sequestrator resideth vt supra about viij myles distant.	The Churches and Chauncells repayred.	None at all.

	Vicarages.	Incumb.	Valua.	XXth part.	Valew.	Resident.	Churches.	Buildings.
239	Tessanran in the Kings Countie. A mensall belonging to the Bishoppricke of Meath. ☞ The lo. Dillon his Matᵗᵉˢ farmoʳ of the Impropriate Rectory.	Mr. John Stearne formerly spfied num. 200, Curate. He serueth this cure allso.	Taxed with the Bprick	Taxed with the Bprick	15ˡˡ ster.	He resideth at Kilbeggan about 6 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	
240	Lebanaghan als Slevanaghan in the Kings County. A mensall belonging to the Bprick of Meath. The lo. Dillon farmoʳ to his Matie of the Impropriate rectory. ☞	Mr. John Sterne next aboue specified.	Taxed wᵗʰ yᵉ Bprick	Taxed wᵗʰ yᵉ Bprick	12ˡˡ ster.	The Curate resideth vt supra about 7 myles distant.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	
241	Gallo als Gallen in the Kings Countie. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath patron. The lo: Viscount of Drogheda is his Matᵗᵉˢ farmoʳ of the Impropriate rectory.	Voyde, soe small that nobody will accept of it.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	None.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
242	Furne als Wherry in the Kings Countie. Collatiue. The lo. Bp of Meath Patron. The Lo: Viscount of Drogheda is his Matᵗᵉˢ farmoʳ of the Impropriate rectory.	Voyde, of so little worth as nobody will accept it.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	None.	The Church and Chauncell ruyned.	None at all.
243	Raynagh in the Kings Countie. Collatiue. The lo: Bp of Meath patron. The lo. Viscount of Drogheda his Matᵗᵉˢ farmoʳ of the Impropriate rectory.	Voyde, of soe little worth that nobody will accept of it.	Nihil.	Nihil.	Nihil.	None.	The Church and Chauncell ruynous.	None at all.

There are in the Dioces of Meath

Dignityes 2. both Collatiue belonging to the patronage of the Bishop of Meath.

Rectories Collatiue Presentatiue and Institutiue 51.

Vicarages Collatiue Presentatiue & Institutiue 63.

Curateshippes or Cures belonging to Impropriate Rectories and others in all 79.

Chappells of ease 43.

The Patrons of every liveing, and the Farmors of the impropriate rectoryes are all set downe and specified in the first Columne of wch such as be Recusantes are noted wth this ☞ marke in the margent.

All the Churches specified in this Certificate are fitt to be builded repayred and reedified.

If the smallnes of the meanes wch cometh to the Incumbentes be regarded. then many of the liveings in this Dioces are fitt to be vnited to make vpp a competent meanes for the minister. But if the spaciousnes of the parishes (wch are large and consist of so many Inhabitantes as if they should be reformed and brought to the Church, would be more in each parish then the Church would hould), and the difference of the patrons, the Patronages being in severall mens hands, I thinke none of them fitt to be vnited, but that there were power and authoritie given to the Bishopp for the bettering of the meanes of well deserving ministers, to vnite such and so many liueings of the value of Twenty poundes Ster. p ann. and vnder, as he shall thinke fitting dureing the Incumbency of such well deserving Ministers.

Mr Willm Lilton learned in the Lawes is Officiall Generall of the Dioces of Meath and exerciseth the generall Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction throughout the whole Dioces.

Mr Willm Moorehead Minister and Mr of Artes exerciseth the Ecclesiasticall Jurisdiction in the remoate Deanryes of Ballymore Loxewdy and Ardmurgher als Ballymurgher, vnder the aboue named Mr Willm̃ Lilton.

This is the true state of the Bishoppricke and Diocesse of Meath certified vnto his Mathes Commissioners by me James Vssher Doctor of Divinitie Bishoppe of Meath this xxviijth day of May in the yeare of our Lord God 1622. In witnesse whereof I haue hervnto put my hand and seale.

JAMES MIDENSIS.

VI.

AN HISTORICAL NARRATION

OF

THE CONTROVERSY

BETWIXT THE

ARCHBISHOPS OF ARDMAGH AND DUBLIN,

TOUCHING THE PRIMACY:

WHICH ENDED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF Q. MARY'S REIGN.

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TOUCHING THE PRIMACY:

WHICH ENDED IN THE FIRST YEAR OF Q. MARY'S REIGN.

THE first occasion of the breach betwixt ye archbishops of Ardmaghe and Dublin was occasioned by certain bulls procured by the archbishop of Dublin from the court of Rome. For John Comyn the first English archbishop of Dublin, being consecrated by pope Lucius the third at Belitre, in the year of our Lord 1182. procured a bull from him; wherein among other privileges, this was inserted for one. "Sacrorum quoque canonum auctoritatem sequentes, statuimus ut nullus archiepiscopus vel episcopus absque assensu Dubliniensis archiepiscopi, si in archiepiscopatu fuerit, in dioecesi Dubliniensi conventus celebrare, causas etiam et ecclesiastica negotia ejusdem dioecesis (nisi per Romanum pontificem, vel legatum ejus eidem fuerit injunctum) tractare praesumat." Which notwithstanding the opposition of the archbishop of Ardmaghe, was twice renewed again in the year 1216. by pope Innocent III. in ye end; and Honorius III. in ye beginning of his Papacye, at ye solicitation of Henrie de Londres, archbishop of Dublin. This Henry entred into a covenant with the archbishop of Cashell, (the copy whereof is yet extant) to oppose ye Primate's claymes with cõmon care and expenses; and being a favourite of ye Court, and ye Pope's legate in this countrye, prevayled so farre, that in ye year 1221. he obtayned this Bull following from the foresaid pope Honorius in ye behalfe of his See.

" Honorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei, venerabili fratri Dublin. archiepiscopo, salutem et apostolicam benedictionem. Cum secundum divinae legis praeceptum nemo falcem suam debet mittere in messem alienam, ne quod ab alio non vult sibi fieri alii facere videatur; nos tuis precibus inclinati auctoritate praesentium inhibemus, ne cuiquam archiepiscopo vel alii praelato Hiberniae (praeter suffraganeos tuos aut apostolicae sedis legatum) sine tuo et successorum tuorum assensu bajulare crucem, celebrare conventus (religiosis exceptis) vel causas ecclesiasticas, nisi a sede apostolica delegatus [fuerit] tractare liceat in provincia Dublin. Nulli ergo omnino hominum liceat hanc paginam nostrae inhibitionis infringere, vel ei ausu temerario contraire; siquis hoc attemptare praesumpserit, indignationem omnipotentis Dei, et beatorum Petri et Pauli, apostolorum ejus, se noverit incursurum. Datum Laterani sexto idus Decemb. pontificatus nostri anno sexto."

The archbishop of Ardmaghe on the other side boare out himself with a grant obtained from Pope Celestine III. and confirmed also by his successor Pope Innocent III. By reason of which contrarietye of grantes, a great controversye depended in ye court of Rome betwixt Reynard of Ardmaghe, and Luke of Dublin, in ye year 1250. which was helde in suspence, untill at last Pope Urban IV. confirmed ye order set down by Celestine, and established ye rights of ye Primacye to ye See of Ardmaghe in manner following.

" Primatiam vero totius Hiberniæ, quam praedecessores tui usque ad haec tempora inconcusse habuisse noscuntur, ad exemplar supradicti Caelestini papae praedecessoris nostri, tibi tuisque successoribus auctoritate apostolica confirmamus; statuentes, ut Hiberniae archiepiscopi, episcopi, et alii praelati tibi et tuis successoribus, tanquam primati obedientiam et reverentiam omni tempore debeant exhibere. Porro crucem, vexillum scilicet dominicum, per provincias et episcopatus tibi metropolitico et primatiae jure subjectas, sicut praedecessoribus tuis concessum fuisse dignoscitur, ante te deferendi licentiam impertimur."

These privileges thus renued, were presentlye published by ye Archbishop of Ardmaghe in a Provinciall Synod held at Drogheda, whereof in the registry of that church we read thus: " Feria[a] secunda, luna 18 mensis Januarii, anno Dom. 1262. frater Patricius Ostannail Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Hiberniae

[a] Ex Reg. Octaviani archiep. Ardmagh, f. 282.

Primas concilium celebravit apud Pontem cum suffraganeis provinciae suae, et quibusdam suffraganeis provinciae Tuamensis sibi jure primatico subjectis, et quibusdam Canonicis cathedralibus et consilio Domini Dubliniensis, cui interfuerunt Justitiarius et quidam magnates Hiberniae; et ibidem privilegia Ecclesiae Ardmachanæ de jure primatiae post revocationem[b] in Curia Romana publicata fuerunt."

After this, y[e] controversye ceased awhile untill the year[c] 1311. when in the parliament held before John Wogan, Lord Justice at Kilkenny, the Bishops falling into argument about their jurisdictions, the Bishop of Dublin forbad the Primate of Ardmaghe to lift up his crosyer within the province of Leynster, as Campion reporteth in his historye of Ireland, lib. 2. cap. 5. And in the year 1313, this accident following thereupon is related, in the Irish Annales published by Mr. Camden. "Frater Rolandus Jorce, Primas Ardmachanus applicuit in insula de Houth in crastino Annunciationis B. Mariae. De nocte surgens furtive levando crucem suam, illam portavit usque Prioratum de Gratia Dei. Cui occurrebant quidam de familiaribus Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis, illam Crucem deponendo, et ipsum Ardmachanum tanquam confusum a Lagenia effugarunt." In the same Annales likewise, at the year of our Lord 1337. this narration is layd down: "Domino Johanne Charleton existente Justitiario et tenente Parliamentum Dublinii, magister David O Hirraghey, Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus vocatus ad Parliamentum fecit residentiam in monasterio B. Mariae juxta Dublinium. Sed impeditus fuit per Archiepiscopum et clericos, quia voluit portari Crucem ante eum, et noluerunt permittere eum." Upon which occasion David caused y[e] foresayd clauses of Pope Urban's Bull, confirming y[e] privileges of y[e] See of Ardmaghe to be exemplified under y[e] great seale of Ireland nono vigesimo Nov. anno regni Edwardi III. undecimo, as appears by the "Inspeximus" of y[e] sayd letters Patent, preserved amongst y[e] records of y[e] Towre of London, "inter patent. an. 2. Hen. IV. part 3. membran. 5." But what further prosecution he made of this businesse I do not finde. But an[o] 3[o] Ed. 3 in y[e] rolls of sum̃ons of Parl. y[e] writt in y[e] first place directed to y[e] Primate, then to Dublin and y[e] rest.

In the year 1349. the contention broke out more fiercely, be-

[b] An *renovationem*?

[c] Or 1308 when Dublin and Casshell joyned together against the Primate: as appeareth by K. Edw. II. letters dat. 6[o] Junii an[o] regni 1[mo] in y[e] Remembrancers office.

twixt Richard Fitz Ralfe, commonly called S. Richard of Dundalk, the famous archbishop of Ardmaghe and Alexander Bickenore, Archbishop of Dublin; the narration whereof in the registrye of Ardmaghe is thus layd down. "Anno[d] Dom. 1349°. Rex Angliae misit diversas literas domino Richardo Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, Hiberniae Primati, quod posset deferre Crucem suam ante se in qualibet parte Hiberniae. Scripsit etiam majoribus et potentibus Hiberniae, quod Primatem Hiberniae in prosecutione juris Ecclesiae Ardmachanae, quoad Primatiam, juvarent, et in nullo resisterent. Praedictus vero Dominus Richardus, Primas Hiberniae, confisus de jure suo, et de potentia Dei, juvamine beati Patricii patroni sui accessit Cruce erecta ante se usque ad Dubliniam, et per Dubliniam, et ibidem thalamum recepit, in villa per tres noctes stetit, privilegia Ecclesiae Ardmachanae et Bullas Primatiae coram Justitiariis Hiberniae, Priore de Kilmanam, et majoribus de Hibernia ibidem existentibus, legit et publicavit, in omnes contradictores et rebelles sententiam excommunicationis fulminavit; praedictus Justitiarius, et Prior de Kilmanam cum suis complicibus, recepta pecunia de Archiepiscopo Dublin, negotia Ecclesiae Ardmachanae impediverunt. Domino vero Primate revertente ad villam Pontanam, omnes illos et singulos excommunicatos publice denominavit. Ipsi vero recognoscentes errorem ipsorum humiliter ad Dominum Primatem usque villam Pontanam venerunt, et genibus flexis eodem coram Primate absolutionem obtinuerunt. Eodem anno statim post recessum Domini Primatis de Dublinia prior de Kilmanam secundus principalis conspirator contra Ecclesiam Ardmachanam infirmatus fuit ad mortem, et errorem suum recognovit, et nuncios solennes et procuratores speciales ad villam de Drogheda usque Dominum Primatem misit; et se et omnes de parentela sua ad hoc obligavit, quod nunquam ipsi aut aliquis ex ipsis contra Ecclesiam Ardmachanam in ea parte insurgerent vel insurgeret; et cito missis nunciis per miracula beati Patricii mortuus est, et non traditus fuit ecclesiasticae sepulturae, donec auctoritate Domini Primatis, quia in eo apparebant signa poenitentiae salutaris, fuit absolutus.

Eodem anno Alexander archiepiscopus Dublin. propter injurias et seditiones, quas contra Ecclesiam Ardmachanam fecit et procuravit, mortuus est."

John St. Paul, or De Sancto Paulo, succeeded Alexander in the

[d] Ex Registro Octavian archiep. f. 279.

Archbishoprick of Dublin, who nothing terrified with what had passed, procured out of England in the year 1350. a revocation of the Kings letters, granted to Richard of Ardmagh, and a stay of his execution of the primacy within the province of Dublin, as in the ensuing letters patent of King Edward III. more fully may appear.

" Edwardus Dei gratia Rex Angliae, et Franciae, et Dominus Hiberniae Justitiario ac Cancellario et Thesaurario nostris ibidem, nec non universis et singulis officiariis ac ministris caeterisque fidelibus nostris, tam civibus et burgensibus, quam popularibus in terra praedicta, infra libertates et extra, ad quos praesentes literae pervenerint, salutem. Cum nuper Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus Primatem Hiberniae se praetendens, suggerensque ipsum praetextu Primatiae hujusmodi et privilegiorum sibi per sedem apostolicam (ut asserit) concessorum Crucem suam eundo et equitando ubique per dictam terram nostram Hiberniae erectam ante se portari facere, et quam pluribus privilegiis et juribus, ut ad Primatiam illam spectantibus per medium ejusdem terrae debite uti posse literas nostras patentes de protectione et defensione nostris pro se, hominibus et familiaribus suis in executione praemissorum faciend, mandatum etiam continentes quod vos praefatum Archiepiscopum dictam Crucem suam ubilibet in terra praedicta, et in civitatibus et burgis, quam locis aliis ante se portari facere, et quicquid ad dictam Primatiam pertinet facere et exercere absque impedimento seu impetitione aliqua permitteretis. Nec non quaedam alia mandata nostra singularia vobis praefatis Justitiario ac Majori et Ballivis civitatis nostrae Dublin. diversisque aliis majoribus, et ballivis, ac ministris et fidelibus nostris sub magno sigillo nostro Angliae directa; quod dictas literas nostras in civitate Dublin. et alibi ubi expedire videritis, publice proclamari et contenta in eisdem in singulis articulis observari et teneri faceretis; et omnibus fidelibus nostris ibidem inhiberetis ex parte nostra, ne dicto Archiepiscopo aut suis in exercitio primatiae et privilegiorum suorum in terra praedicta sub poena incarcerationis corporum suorum, ac captionis libertatum in manum nostram impedimentum aliquod inferrent, contra tenorem literarum nostrarum earundem in cancellaria nostra ad suggestionem hujusmodi impetrassent, prout in literis nostris et mandatis praedictis continetur. Et licet per tenorem cujusdam Bullae felicis recordationis Honorii papae in Cancellaria nostra praedicta sub sigillo nostro, quo utimur in Hibernia, exhibitum liqueat evidenter, quod idem Honorius

Papa inhibuit, ne cuiquam Archiepiscopo vel alii praelato Hiberniae praeter suffraganeos Dubliniensis Archiepiscopi, aut Apostolicae Sedis Legatum, sine ipsius Archiepiscopi Dubliniensis et successorum suorum assensu bajulare Crucem, celebrare conventus (religiosis exceptis) vel causas ecclesiasticas, nisi de sedis apostolicae delegatis, tractare liceat in provincia Dublin. ipsaque Dubliniensis Ecclesia sic dicta, et nonnullis aliis Sedis Apostolicae privilegiis et praescriptionibus legitimis sit munita ac gavisa hactenus libertate, quod nullus Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus seu alius terrae praedictae praeter ipsum Dublin. Archiepiscopum, nullo unquam tempore Crucem suam ante se erectam in Dublin. provincia bajulare debuit, nec etiam bajulavit, nec causas tractavit ecclesiasticas in eadem, per quod jus seu usus privilegiorum aut praescriptio seu libertas hujusmodi de jure interrupta fuerint vel interrumpi debuerint sive laedi; prout inde sumus plenius informati: praefatus tamen Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus colore literarum et mandatorum nostrorum praedictorum, quae tacite in impetratione eorum de jure et privilegiis Dubliniensis Ecclesiae, et expresse de contraria veritate ad minus veracem suggestionem hujusmodi in dicta cancellaria nostra obtinuit; et quae eo praetextu et ob propositas coram nobis quasdam alias causas surreptitie obtenta dici debent aliqua in grave et enorme praejudicium ipsius Dublin. ecclesiae et cleri provinciae ejusdem, ac contra privilegia, praescriptiones, usus et libertatem praedicta abusive quibusdam confoederatis suis sibi assistentibus in eisadem civitate et provincia Dublin. temere attemptavit, unde ejusdem civitatis et partium vicinarum populus vehementer movebatur: et nos advertentes, quod ex turbatione et praesumptione hujusmodi literarum et mandatorum nostrorum praedictorum obtenta congressus populorum provinciarum utrarumque bellicus verisimiliter formidatur; nolentesque nec intentionis nostrae extitit nec existit praejudicium seu injuriam praedictae Dublin. ecclesiae de nostro patronatu existenti, seu ejusdem juribus, privilegiis, aut libertati, ratione literarum et mandatorum nostrorum praedictorum, seu alia causa fieri; sed desiderantes ipsam in suis juribus et privilegiis confoveri, et eminentia ex praemissis pericula evitari, et subditorum nostrorum paci et quieti ubilibet provideri, praedictas literas et mandata nostra ad hujusmodi et majora suscitanda pericula inductiva, quatenus de facto processerunt, per literas nostras patentes vobis directas revocaverimus; permittentes quod quilibet jura in hac parte in forma juris prosequeretur, prout expedire noverit, et defenderet, ita scilicet quod ex

hujusmodi praesumptionibus temerariis in populis nostris praedictis non fieret conjunctio, nec pax nostra aliqualiter violaretur, prout in literis nostris praedictis plenius continetur. Ac jam intellexerimus quod quam plures malefactores et pacis nostrae perturbatores ex utraque provinciarum praedictarum in diversis considerationibus et conventiculis tam armati, quam alio modo in diversis locis in terra praedicta congregati, praetextu literarum nostrarum dictarum praedicto Archiepiscopo Ardmachano per nos concessarum, et sicut praedicitur, per nos revocatarum, Archiepiscopum Ardmachanum praedictum cum Cruce erecta et coram eo in praedicta civitate Dublin. et alibi in provincia Dublin. portata, et alia quae ad dictam Primatiam pertinent ibidem extendendam, per hujusmodi potentiam suam manutenere proponunt, in pacis nostrae laesionem et populi nostri partium illarum terrorem et commotionem manifestam, et contra formam statuti de armis contra pacem nostram non portandis editi, et contra tenorem revocationis nostrae supradictae; nos pacem nostram ubique in dicta terra nostra inviolabiliter observari, et ipsam pacem nostram laedentes juxta suorum demerita ac etiam dictum statutum contra venientes juxta vim et effectum ejusdem castigari volentes et puniri; ac periculis quae hujusmodi hominum ad arma armatorum et aliorum evenire poterunt, quod absit, praecavere vobis praefato Cancellario mandamus firmiter injungentes, quod per brevia nostra sub sigillo, quo utimur in Hibernia, quoties necesse fuerit, omnibus et singulis, quos decet, dictis in mandatis, quod publice proclamari, et ex ea parte nostra defendi faciatis, quod nulli sub forisfactura vitae et membrorum et omnium aliorum quae nobis forisfacere poterunt, hujusmodi congregationes hominum ad arma armatorum, seu aliorum occasione praescripta facerent aliquo modo; et vobis praefatis justitiariis, officiariis et ministris nostris, et quorumcunque aliorum fidelium nostrorum in terra praedicta infra libertates et extra mandamus firmiter injungentes, quod omnes illos, quos aliquas hujusmodi congregationes vel conventicula in terra praedicta, praemissa occasione, seu quicquam aliud, per quod dicta pax nostra vel statutum praedictum laedi seu populum nostrum terreri, turbari aut commoveri valeant in hac parte inveneritis facientes, insequamini, arrestetis, et capiatis et in prisonis nostris, donec ipsi per vos praefatos justiciarios, seu ad mandatum vestrum suorum demerita ac vim et effectum statuti praedicti debite puniti fuerint, salvo custodiri faciatis. In cujus rei testimonium has literas nostras fieri fecimus patentes. Teste meipso apud Westmonas-

terium octavo die Decembris, anno regni nostri Angliae vicesimo quarto, regni vero nostri Franciae undecimo."

And when for all this Fitz Ralph would not give over the prosecution of that, which he conceived to be the right of his church, the archbishop of Dublin obtain'd other letters patent from the King in the year 1352, the tenor whereof is as followeth.

" Edwardus Dei gratia rex Angliae et Franciae, dominus Hiberniae justitiario et cancellario suis Hiberniae, qui nunc sunt, vel qui pro tempore erunt, ac eorum loca tenentibus, salutem. Cum scilicet Ecclesia Dublin. notorie sit metropolitica et sedi apostolicae soli, et in solidum in spiritualibus omnibus juribus immediate subjecta, adeo quod nullus archiepiscopus Ardmachanus primatem Hiberniae se praetendens Crucem ante se erectam in civitate, dioecesi et provincia Dublin. ut dicitur, jus habuit bajulare, nec etiam bajulavit, nec jurisdictionem ibidem exercuit aliquam ; Richardus tamen Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus in dictis civitate, dioecesi, et provincia crucem suam ante se erectam deferre, ac visitationis officium, ac jurisdictionem aliam indebite exercere, et sic fideles nostros ad examen suum in ecclesiam suam Ardmachanam inter inimicos nostros solicite (ut dicitur) trahere nititur juxta vires, nedum in nostri et dictae ecclesiae Dublin. injuriam, sed in commotionem populi et pacis nostrae perturbationem, ac nostri dominii et ipsius terrae nostrae Hiberniae, nisi tantae praesumptioni celerius occurratur, subversionis periculum manifestum. Nos de conservatione juris et honoris ipsius Ecclesiae Dublin. (cum sit honorabilior ecclesia dictae terrae) ac etiam gratia et consideratione venerabilis patris Johannis archiepiscopi Dublin. (quem propter experta probitatis suae merita summopere diligimus) sumus soliciti ; ac considerantes quod civitas illa est ibidem civitas nostri regni peculiaris et praecipua ; ac provide desiderantes tam ipsius ecclesiae ut quam populi nostri fidelis dictarum partium prospicere commodis et quieti, et periculosis commotionum eventibus, quae ex dissensione inter dictos archiepiscopos et illorum subditos provenire poterunt, pro viribus obviare : vobis et cuilibet vestrum in dilectione et ligeancia, in quibus nobis tenemini, firmiter injungendo mandamus, quod singulis comitibus, baronibus, militibus, vicecomitibus, majoribus, ballivis, seneschallis libertatum ad omnibus aliis fidelibus nostris in terra Hiberniae, tam infra libertates, quam extra, prout et quoties expedire videritis, ex parte nostra firmiter inhibeatis, et per brevia sub sigillo nostro, quo utimur in Hibernia, quoties opus fuerit fact. faciatis firmiter inhiberi ;

ne qui sub forisfactura omnium quae nobis forisfacere poterunt, novitates aliquas in dicta terra Hiberniae, et in fidelibus populis nostris ibidem (quibuscunque coloribus) introducant in hac parte, aut usurpationes indebitas vel insolitas facere, seu armatam potentiam super fideles nostros inducere, vel quaecunque alia quibuscunque processibus attemptare praesumant, per quae pax nostra ibidem laedi, aut populus noster praedictus sive communitates commoveri vel terreri, seu divisio vel dissensio in eisdem populis fieri, vel subversio juris regii (quod absit) ulterius causari, seu dignitati nostrae regiae aliqualiter valeat derogari; et praemissa nihilominus, prout expedire videritis, in civitatibus, villis et in locis aliis infra libertates et extra publicari faciatis, et omnes quos post et contra inhibitionem et proclamationem nostras hujusmodi inveneritis sic delinquentes, tam per incarcerationem corporum suorum, quam per captionem terrarum, tenementorum, bonorum et catallorum suorum in manum nostràm juxta quantitatem delicti aliter castigari et puniri faciatis, quod metu poenae alii ex praesumpta audacia talia committere terreantur. De nominibus etiam eorum, qui sic deliquerunt, nos de tempore in tempus sub dicto sigillo nostro Hiberniae certificantes, ut eos juxta ordinationem nostri consilii puniremus: et praedicta omnia sicut nos et honorem nostrum ac salvationem dictae terrae dilexeritis; et vos ipsos erga nos indempnes servare volueritis, cum omni diligentia faciatis. Teste meipso apud Westmonasterium duodecimo die Maii anno regni nostri Angliae vicesimo sexto, regni vero nostri Franciae tertio decimo."

From hence ye controversye removed to the court of Rome in the year 1353, where the matter being discussed at large before Pope Innocent the sixth, is said to have received at last this decision; which as I found it written by John Allen archbishop of Dublin, in ye dayes of king Henry the eighth; in his own very words I here lay it down. "Quinimo in bibliotheca papae secretiori Romae, dum isthic moram traxi (annis undecim procurator reverendissimi domini Willelmi Cantuarensis Archiepiscopi, totius Angliae Primatis) casu profecto fortuito; inter legendum lites et controversias alias in curia inibi pendentes, in registro Innocenti 6ti reperi praetactam litem sopitam auctoritate Papae, et approbante Collegio Cardinalium, sub hac forma sequenti. viz. quod uterque esset Primas, sed ad distincte scribendum Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus intitularet se totius Hiberniae Primatem, Metropolitanus autem Dubliniensis exararet

se Hiberniae Primatem; instar, inquit summus pontifex, in Anglia, Cantuariensis et Ebor. quorum prior scribit se totius Angliae Primatem, sed alter Angliae Primatem. Subscr. Johannes Dublin. electus, manu mea propria, anno ab incarnat. 1529."

But it appeareth in the registrye of Ardmaghe, that the strife was yet depending[e] in the court of Rome 20. January 1366. at which time the controversye grew so hot betwixt Miles Sweetman, who succeeded Richard Fitz-Ralfe in Ardmaghe, and Thomas Mynotte, who succeeded John St. Paul in Dublin, that king Edward was faine to interpose himself again in the businesse. The course which he required should be observed was, that the matter should friendlye be compounded betwixt them, and that according to the example of y[e] agreement made betwixt the Archbishops of Canterburye and Yorke in the like case, both should bear up their Crosiers in each others province, without any interruption or resistance; as appeareth both by other of the king's writs issued in this cause, and especially by his letters directed to the Archbishop of Ardmaghe from Westminster 9. Junii anno regni 40.

The answer which he received from the archbishop of Ardmagh herein, was as followeth.

"Excellentissimo[f] in Christo Principi ac Domino, Domino Edwardo Dei gratia Regi Angliae illustrissimo, ac Domino Hiberniae et Acquitaniae, suus humilis capellanus Milo, eadem gratia Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Hiberniae Primas salutem, &c. Post cujus Brevis receptionem obtemperans mandatis vestris personaliter comparui per duos dies, viz. 17. mensis Septembris extunc sequente, et die 24. ejusdem mensis viz. die Jovis proxime ante festum Sancti Michaelis, ad tractandum cum venerabili patre Archiepiscopo Dublin. super materiam in ipso Brevi contentam, de certis locis in provinciarum nostrarum confinio. In quibus diebus et locis dictis, Archiepiscopus Dublin. praesentiam suam non exhibuit personalem, licet ad hoc fuerit praemonitus; sed die ultimo, viz. die Jovis proxime ante festum Sancti Michaelis Archangeli proxime futurum, quosdam suos procuratores ad me in loco assignato personaliter existentem destinavit; qui procuratores in tractatu illo mecum habito, petiverunt, ut omnibus in ipso Brevi contentis parerem, praecipue de bajulatione Crucium nostrarum in provinciis nostris mutuo facienda; quae facere non potui ex causis subsequentibus, pro eo quod

[e] Reg. Milo. fol. 25. a. [f] Reg. Milo. fol. 1. b.

propter brevitatem temporis a receptione vestri Brevis cum Decano et Capitulo meo ac Suffraganeis provinciae meae procul a me distantibus quidem per centum milliaria aut ultra, ac viarum discrimina, licet pro consilio ipsorum ad haec habenda diligentiam debitam fecissem, quorum consilium in tam arduo negotio erat necessarium et consensus, tractare non potui, et propterea nec finem apponere in praemissis. Eo etiam quia super bajulatione Crucis meae in signum superioritatis et juris Primatiae in provincia Dublin. sicut in caeteris aliis Hiberniae provinciis jus commune et privilegia a Sede Apostolica quam plurima, ac literas vestrae dominationis excellentissimae diversas patentes, exemplificationem quorundam privilegiorum praemissorum continentes, habeo, quod sine impedimento exercere jus primatiae in provincia Dublin. et Crucem suam bajulare et per totam Hiberniam valeat Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus Hiberniae Primas quilibet, qui pro tempore fuerit, pro loco et tempore opportunis eidem Excellentiae vestrae habeo exhibenda; quorum aliqua inspicienda in praesenti Excellentiae vestrae transmitto. Eo insuper quod super bajulatione Crucis meae as juris Primatiae per multos annos pendet lis mota ex parte Ecclesiae meae Ardmachanae contra Archiepiscopum Dublin. atque in ea parte in Romana curia indecisa; sed super bajulatione Crucis suae in provincia mea nunquam controversia, sive debata, aut mentio habebatur, licet de hoc ad suggestionem minus veram, nescio cujus aliter continetur; nec exemplum concordiae ad interpositionem partis vestrae atque rogatum inter Archiepiscopos Cantuerіensem et Eboracensem initae, est inter nos consimile ac inter illos, quia nunquam inter nos tanquam partes actrices ex utraque parte lis super bajulatione Crucium et superioritatis in alterius provincia vertebatur. Insuper quilibet Archiepiscopus Ardmachanus, Primas Hiberniae habet, seu habere debet de jure et antiqua consuetudine tres Archiepiscopos in Hibernia sibi subjectos; viz. Dublin. Casselensem et Tuamensem; quorum unum, viz. Archiepiscopum Tuamensem recalcitrantem Ardmachanus vicit judiciliater in Romana curia: et quod ipse cum jure primatico visitaret de quinquennio in quinquennium, Bullam ab apostolica sede obtinuit, quam habeo de praesenti. Quare Excellentiae vestrae humiliter supplico et devote, quatenus cum propter temporis brevitatem, prout decet hominem status mei, non potero ad ipsam Excellentiam, sicut Breve vestrum requirit, personaliter in Angliam venire; etiam attentis excusationibus meis supradictis ac aliis evidentiis quam plurimus jus Primatiae praedictae concernentibus, quae in

omnibus hac vice exprimi non poterint, vestrae Excellentiae antedictae, dignetur eadem me vestrum excusatum habere: et ne talia vel consimilia Brevia in posterum extra vestram Cancellariam emaneant, et si quae emanarunt, quod revocentur, de gratia vestrae Celsitudinis demandare. Prospere et feliciter vestram excellentem dominationem conservet Altissimus ad utile regimen sui populi ditioni vestrae subjecti per tempora longiora. Script. sub meo sigillo in manerio de Dromiskin die Sabbati, &c."

The order set down by King Edward in England for the taking up of this controversy being not observed by the Archbishops here, Lionel duke of Clarence, the king's son and Lieutenant in Ireland, directed the king's writ unto the sheriff of Dublin (dated at Kilkenny, 3. Octob. anno regni 40. anno viz. Dom. 1366) "quod scire faciat Archiepiscopo Dublin, (so the words of the precept run) quod sit coram locum tenente nostro in terra nostra Hiberniae apud Tristelder die Martis proximo post festum S. Lucae Evangelistae prox. futur. ad respondendum nobis de contemptu praedicto." The like also was issued (no doubt) against the Archbishop of Ardmagh. But what followeth thereupon I cannot yet find.

In the days of Rich. Talbot, Archbishop of Dublin (who bore the office of Lord Justice and Deputy six several times in this kingdom) the matter was so strongly carried on against the Archbishops of Ardmagh, that three of them one after another, John Swayne in the year 1435. John Prene in the year 1442. and John Mey in the year 1446. being summoned among the rest of the Nobles to appear at Parliaments and grand councils, desired to be excused for their non appearance, by reason of the wrong offered unto them by the Archbishop of Dublin, in not suffering them to bear up their Crosier within that province. Where it is not to be omitted also, that upon the death either of Swayne or Prene 1443. July the 15th. the Dean and Chapter of Ardmaghe made choice of Richard Talbot himself to be the Archbishop. The proem of the letters, wherein they intimate this election unto Pope Eugenius the fourth, setteth forth the privileges of the see of Ardmaghe in manner following.

"Serenissimo in Christo Patri et Domino suo Domino Eugenio, digna Dei providentia Sacrosanctae Romanae ac universalis Ecclesiae summo Pontifici, sui humiles et devoti Decanus et Capitulum Ecclesiae Ardmachanae, vacante ecclesia, quae mater existit et Primatum tenens omnium Ecclesiarum totius Hiberniae, et existens in jure Primatiae plenario adeo auctoritate apos-

tolica privilegiata, quod omnes Hiberniae Archiepiscopi et Episcopi Archiepiscopo Ardmachano et successoribus suis tanquam suo Primati obedientam, reverentiam, et honorem omni tempore debeant exhibere, et ad sui honoris primatialis insigne, crucem sive vexillum idem Archiepiscopus et Primas Ardmachanus et sui successores per omnes Hiberniae provincias et dioceses ante se facere posset deferre ; indultis apostolicis et ipsius praedictae Ecclesiae Ardmachanae chronicis super illo satis plene attestantibus."

And[s] indeed not long after this the Archbishops of Ardmagh seem to have enjoyed and quietly exercised this primacy over all the provinces of the kingdom ; for in the records belonging to that archbishoprick we find letters issued by John Bole anno 1461. for visitation of the provinces of Cashel and Tuam, and next year after, a sentence given upon an appeal made from the Archbishop of Dublin to the Primates consistory in manner following: "In Dei nomine, Amen. Auditis, visis, cognitis, et plenius intellectis, &c. dat 5. die Novembris, anno Dom. 1462."

Neither do I find any difference worth the relating after this until the year of our Lord 1533. wherein at the time of Parliament John Allen, Archbishop of Dublin entered into contestation for precedency with George Crowmer Archbishop of Ardmagh ; upon whom the office of Lord Chancellor was conferred by the king the year before, which Allen formerly had exercised. "Tempore meo 1553. orta est controversia inter me et Ardmachanum etiam tunc Cancellarium regis hic," is all that Allen writeth of this ; who would not in all likelyhood have omitted to make mention of the success of that contention, if the matter had not been carried on the Chancellor's side. But to put an end to all those controversies and contentions George Browne the next successor of Allen, during the vacancy of the see of Ardmaghe in the year of our Lord 1551. procured letters from King Edward the sixth, that the title and office of the Primacy of all Ireland should from thenceforth be for ever annexed unto the see of Dublin. Which letters patents shortly after in the beginning of the reign of Queen Mary, by the procurement of George Dowdall, the then archbishop of Ardmaghe, were caused to be surrendred by him in chancery ; upon the cancelling whereof, new letters patent were passed under the great seal, for the reestablishing of the said title and office of Primacy of all

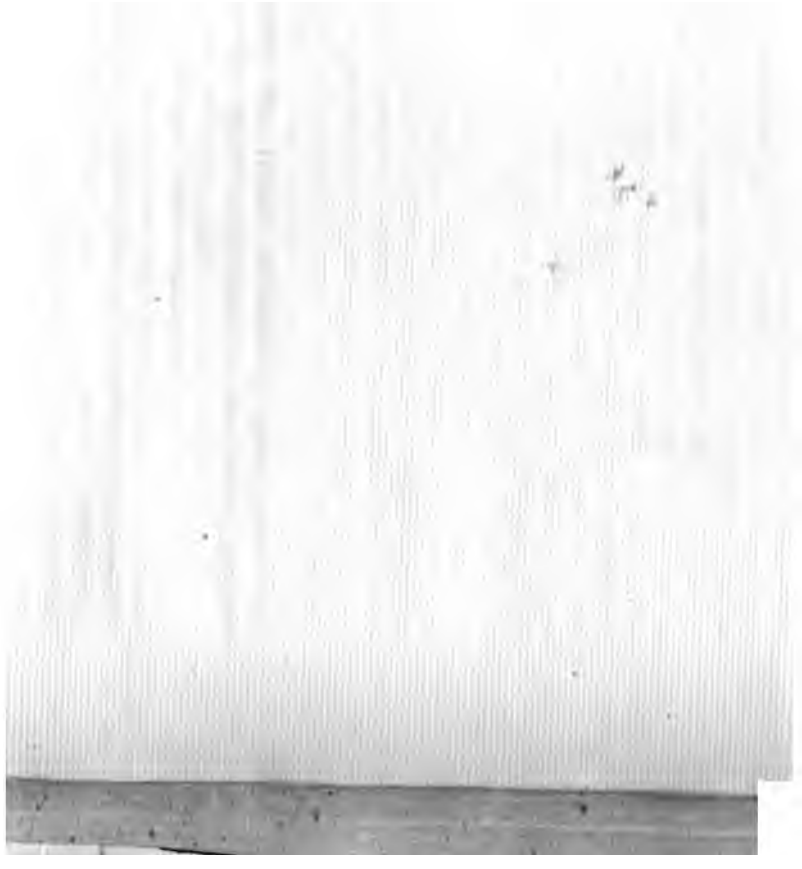
[s] Reg. Talbot. fol. 13. b. et 22. a.

Ireland in the see of Ardmaghe, according to the antient usage; the copy of which patent doth here follow.

" Maria, &c. omnibus ad quos, &c. salutem. Praecharissimus frater noster bonae memoriae Edwardus sextus nuper Rex Angliae per literas suas patentes dederit et concesserit Georgio Dublin. Archiepiscopo nomen, dignitatem, stylum, et titulum totius Hiberniae Primatis, habenda sibi et successoribus suis in perpetuum; quod nomen, dignitatem, stylum, et titulum dilectus noster Georgius Ardmachanus archiepiscopus et praedecessores sui a tempore, cujus contrarii memoria hominum non extitit, habuerunt, usi et gavisi fuerunt, donec virtute earundem literarum privatus et amotus fuit a dictis dignitate et officio versus omnes justitiae ordines absque aliquo bono fundamento seu causa: quas quidem literas patentes dictus Archiepiscopus Dublin. in cancellaria nostra Hiberniae reddidit cancellandas, et sic esse cancellatas existunt; sciatis quod Nos de gratia nostra speciali, ac ob alias certas causas nos moventes, ac ex certa scientia et mero motu nostris juxta vim, formam, et effectum quarundam literarum sive instructionum nostrarum manu propria signatarum, signetoque nostro consignatorum praedilecto et fideli Consiliario nostro Anthonio St. Leger ordinis nostri Garterii militi, uni de privato concilio nostro Angliae, et Deputato nostro regni nostri Hiberniae, et concilio nostro regni nostri Hiberniae praedict. directarum et in rotulis cancellariae nostrae Hiberniae praedictae irrotulatarum, dictum nomen, stylum, et dignitatem Primatis, et Primatiae totius Hiberniae praefato Georgio Archiepiscopo Ardmachano damus, imponimus et restituimus per praesentes; ac ipsum Georgium Archiepiscopum Ardmachanum, successoresque suos Archiepiscopos Ardmachanos totius Hiberniae, facimus, constituimus, ordinamus et assignamus, et officium Primatiae totius Hiberniae, nec non nomen, stylum, titulum et dignitatem Primatiae et Primatis totius Hiberniae praedict. eidem Georgio Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, et successoribus suis Archiepiscopis Ardmachanis dedimus et concessimus, et per praesentes damus et concedimus habendum, tenendum, gaudendum, occupandum et exercendum officium praedictum, nomen, stylum, titulum, ac caetera praemissa cum omnibus et singulis reverentiis, praeeminentiis et honoribus universis praefato Georgio Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, et successoribus suis Archiepiscopis Ardmachanis in proprios usus praefato archiepiscopatui sedique ejusdem unitis, appropriatis, consolidatis, et annexis in perpetuum, in tam amplis modo et forma prout dictus Archiepiscopus et praedeces-

sores sui, tempore, cujus contrarii memoria hominum non extitit, habuit, gavisus fuit, et tenuit, habuerunt, gavisi fuerunt et tenuerunt; volentes et firmiter injungentes, quod praefatus Georgius Archiepiscopus, et successores sui Archiepiscopi Ardmachani, et non praedictus archiepiscopus Dublin. nec successores sui, nec quisquis alius archiepiscoporum tanquam totius Hiberniae Primas ab omnibus ejus regni incolis deinceps censeatur, appelletur, adjudicetur, et omnino vocetur. Mandantes autem universis et singulis Archiepiscopis, Episcopis, Decanis, Archidiaconis, Rectoribus, Vicariis, Presbyteris, Ministris, et fidelibus ligeis nostris, quod praefato Georgio Archiepiscopo Ardmachano, et successoribus suis Archiepiscopis Ardmachanis in exercitio officii Primatis et Primatiae praedictae, ac caeterorum praemissorum pareant, respondeant, obediant, et intendant, prout decet, &c.

"In cujus rei, &c., aliquo statuto, &c. teste praefato Anthonio St. Leger apud Dublin. duodecimo die Martii, regni nostro primo."



VINDICATION OF THE OPINIONS AND ACTIONS

OF

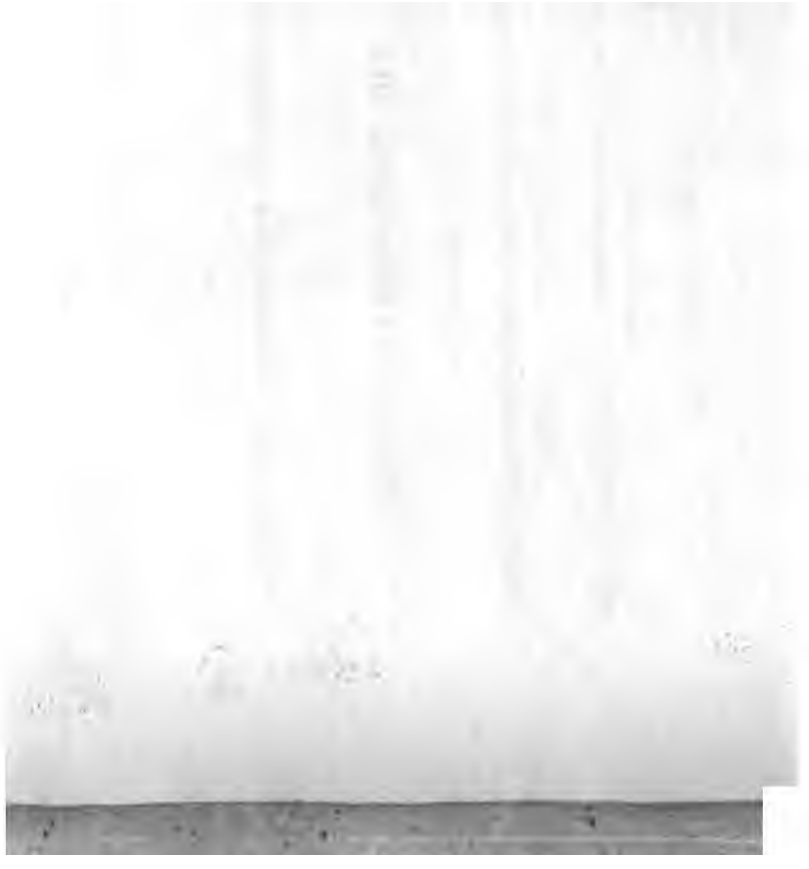
THE LORD PRIMATE USSHER

IN REFERENCE TO THE

DOCTRINE AND DISCIPLINE OF THE CHURCH OF ENGLAND, AND HIS CONFORMITY THEREUNTO,

FROM THE ASPERSIONS OF PETER HEYLIN D. D. IN HIS PAMPHLET CALLED RESPONDET PETRUS.

BY JAMES TYRRELL, ESQ.



A

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FINDING that Dr. Heylin hath taken the pains to write this book on purpose to callumniate and asperse the Lord Primate's memory, and arraign his opinions and actions, as not conformable to the doctrines of the Church of England, I cannot well omit to consider what that author hath there laid to his charge, how justly I shall leave to the impartial reader to judge; for I hope I shall make it appear that what the Lord Primate hath either publish'd, or written in private letters on those subjects, was on very good grounds, and such as may very well be defended, as agreeable to the sence and doctrine of our Church, contained in the 39 Articles. Or if after all I can say, the reader shall happen to think otherwise, I desire him not to censure too hardly, but to pass it by, since such difference (if any be) was not in the fundamental doctrines of our religion, but only some points of lesser moment; or in which the Church itself has not tied men either to this or that sence; and that the Lord Primate held these opinions, not out of contradiction or singularity, but only because he thought them more agreeable to Scripture and reason: tho in most of them I doubt not but to shew, that the Doctor has stretched the Lord Primate's words farther than ever

his own sence and meaning was. But to come to the points in which the Doctor hath made bold to question his judgment, the first is his opinion of the divine morality of the Sabbath, or seventh days rest, asserted by him in two several letters, published (tho perhaps not so prudently with those private reflections) by Dr. Bernard, in which controversy whether the authorities made use of by the Lord Primate out of the Fathers and other writers, do not make out the assertion by him laid down; or whether the Doctor has fairly and ingenuously answered those quotations he cites in those letters, I shall not here take upon me to examine, but shall observe thus much, that as it is a doctrine held by some of the Fathers, as also maintained by divers learned Divines and Bishops of our Church, and therefore could not be so Puritanical as the Doctor would have it; especially since the Lord Primate thought that he had the Church of England on his side, as she hath declared her sence of this matter in the first part of the homily of the time and place of prayer, viz.: "God hath given express charge to all men, that upon the Sabbath day (which is now our Sunday) they shall cease from all weekly and work-day labour; to the intent, that like as God himself wrought six days, and rested the seventh, and blessed and consecrated it to quietness and rest from labour: even so God's obedient people should use the Sunday holily, and rest from their common and daily business, and also give themselves wholly to the heavenly exercise of God's true religion and service." Which passage being expresly in the point, of my Lord Primate's side, the Sabbath day, mentioned in the fourth Commandment, being there called our Sunday, and the same reason laid down for its observation, viz. because[a] God had rested on the seventh day, &c. The Doctor has no way to oppose this so express authority, but to make (if possible) this homily to contradict it self; and therefore he produces another passage just preceding in this homily, as making for his opinion, which that you may judge whether it does so or no, I shall put down the passage as he himself hath cited it, with his conclusions from it, and shall then further examine whether it makes so much of his side as he would have it, viz. "As concerning the time in which God hath appointed his people to assemble together solemnly, it doth appear by the fourth Commandment, &c. And albeit this commandment of God doth not bind Christian people so strictly to observe and

[a] Resp. Petrus, sect. 7.

keep the utter ceremonies of the Sabbath day, as it was given unto the Jews, as touching the forbearing of work and labour, and as touching the precise keeping of the seventh day, after the manner of the Jews; (for we keep now the first day, which is our Sunday, and make that our Sabbath, that is, our day of rest, in honour of our Saviour Christ, who upon that day rose from death, conquering the same most triumphantly:) yet notwithstanding whatsoever is found in the Commandment appertaining to the law of nature, as a thing most godly, most just and needful for the setting forth of God's glory, ought to be retained and kept of all good Christian people." So that it being thus resolved, that there is no more of the fourth Commandment to be retained by good Christian people, than what is found appertaining to the law of nature; and that the law of nature doth not tie us to one day in seven, or more, to one day of the seven, than to any other; let us next see by what authority the day was changed, and how it came to be translated from the seventh to the first. Concerning which it follows thus in the said homily, viz.: "This example and commandment of God, the godly Christian people began to follow immediately after the ascension of our Lord Christ, and began to chuse them a standing day of the week to come together in; yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lord's day, the day of the Lord's resurrection, the day after the seventh day, which is the first day of the week, &c. sithence which time God's people hath always in all ages, without any gainsaying, used to come together on the Sunday to celebrate and honour God's blessed name, and carefully to keep that day in holy rest and quietness." So far the homily. And by this homily it appears plainly, that the keeping of the Lord's day is not grounded on any commandment of Christ, nor any precept of the Apostles, but that it was chosen as a standing day of the week to come together in, by the godly Christian people immediately after Christ's ascension, and hath so continued ever since. But the Doctor has been very careful in his quotations, not only to take whatsoever in this homily he thinks makes for his purpose, but has also been so wary as to leave out whatsoever he thinks is against him; and therefore the reader is to take notice, that the place first cited by the Doctor immediately precedes that before quoted by the Lord Primate, being connected to it by this passage (which the Doctor omits), "And therefore by this Commandment, we ought to have a time, as one day in the week, wherein we ought to rest, yea from our lawful and needful works."

So likewise doth he omit that which immediately follows the words quoted by my Lord Primate, viz. "So that God doth not only command the observation of this holy day, but also by his own example doth stir and provoke us to the diligent keeping of the same." And after the obedience of natural children, not only to the commands, but also to the example of their parents, is urged, it follows thus, as an argument for its observation, "So if we will be the children of our heavenly Father, we must be careful to keep the Christian Sabbath day, which is the Sunday; not only for that it is God's express commandment, but also to declare our selves to be loving children, in following the example of our gracious Lord and Father." After which it follows again in the next paragraph (which is also concealed by the Doctor, tho it connects the words aforegoing, and the passage he next makes use of, together), "Thus it may plainly appear that God's will and commandment was to have a solemn time, and standing-day in the week, wherein the people should come together, and have in remembrance his wonderful benefits, and to render him thanks for them, as appertaineth to loving and obedient people." From all which put together, I shall leave it to the ingenuous reader to judge who hath most perverted the sence of this homily, the Lord Primate, or the Doctor? and whether or no these conclusions following do not clearly follow from the passages above cited; first, that by the fourth Commandment it is God's perpetual will to have one solemn and standing day in the week for people to meet together to worship and serve him? Secondly, That this day, tho it be not the seventh day from the Creation, yet is still the Christian Sabbath, or day of rest, being still the seventh day, and still observed, (not only because of our Saviour Christ's resurrection on this day) but also that we keep the Christian Sabbath, which is the Sunday, as well for that it is God's express commandment, as also to shew ourselves dutiful children, in following the example of our gracious Lord and Father, who rested on the seventh day. Thirdly, That on this Christian Sabbath, or Sunday, we ought to rest from our lawful and needful works, and common and daily business; and also give our selves wholly to heavenly exercises of God's true religion and service. And therefore this being the express words and sence of this homily, that we may not make it contradict it self, the passages which the Doctor relies so much upon, must have this reasonable construction, viz. That the maker thereof, tho he supposed that we Christians were not obliged to the precise keeping of the seventh day after the

manner of the Jews, yet notwithstanding whatsoever is found in this commandment appertaining to the law of nature, &c. as most just and needful for the setting forth of God's glory, ought to be retained and kept of all Christian people. Which words must be understood in a clean contrary sence to the Doctor's, viz. that the meaning of the author was, (and which our Church confirms) that by the law of nature the seventh day or one day in seven is to be kept holy: or otherwise to what purpose serve these words before recited, viz. "thus it may plainly appear that God's will and commandment was to have one solemn and standing day in the week, wherein people should come together? &c." (that is, now under the Gospel, as before under the law.) And what follows, which the Doctor thinks makes for him, viz. "This example and commandment of God the godly Christian people began to follow immediately after the ascension of our Lord Christ, and began to chuse them a standing day of the week to come together in; yet not the seventh day, which the Jews kept, but the Lord's day, the day of the Lord's resurrection, the day after the seventh day, which is the first day of the week, &c." does rather make against him; that is, by God's example as well as command, they were obliged after Christ's ascension to chuse them one standing day of the week to meet together in: And if so, that must be one day in seven by an immutable moral institution; or else, the Church might, if they had so pleased, have celebrated the Lord's resurrection (not as the homily says) on one standing day of the week, but only at Easter; and the law of nature, according to the Doctor, not tying us to observe one day in seven, if this commandment of keeping the Sabbath, or seventh day, oblige none but the Jews; then the primitive Church might, if they had pleased, have quite left off setting aside any particular day of the week for God's service, and have thought it sufficient to have kept one day (suppose) in a month or two, for men to meet together for the service and worship of God: which whether those of the Doctor's party would be pleased with, I shall not dispute; but sure I am that the Church of England maintains no such doctrine.

But the Doctor, because he thinks the homily not enough of his side, undertakes to shew us upon what grounds the Lord's day stood in the Church of England at the time of the making this homily, and therefore he has put down the proem of an Act of Parliament of the fifth and sixth years of Edward the 6th concerning holy-days, by which he would have the Lord's

day to stand on no other ground but the authority of the Church, not as enjoyned by Christ, or ordained by any of his Apostles. Which Statute whosoever shall be pleased to peruse, may easily see that this proem he mentions, relates only to holy days, and not to Sundays, as you may observe from this passage, viz. " which holy works as they may be called God's service, so the times especially appointed for the same are called holy-days, not for the matter or nature either of the time or day, &c." which title of holy-days was never applied to Sundays, either in a vulgar, or legal acceptation. And tho the Doctor fancied this Act was in force at the time when this homily was made, and therefore must by no means contradict so sacred an authority as that of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons assembled in Parliament: because this Act, tho repealed by Queen Mary, he would have to be revived again the first year of Queen Elizabeth, and so to stand in force at the time of making this homily; whereas whoever consults our Statute-book, will find that this Statute of King Edward the 6th was not revived, nor in force till the first of King James, when the repeal of this Statute was again repealed: tho certainly the reviving of that, or any other Statute, does not make their proems (which are often very carelesly drawn) to be in every clause either good law, or gospel: But tho the Doctor in other things abhors the temporal powers having any thing to do in matters of religion; yet if it make for his opinion, then the authority of a Parliament shall be as good as that of a Convocation. But I have dwelt too long upon this head, which I could not well contract, if I spoke any thing at all to justifie the Lord Primate's judgment in this so material a doctrine.

The next point[b] that the Doctor lays to the Lord Primate's charge as not according to the Church of England, is a passage in a letter to Dr. Bernard, and by him published in the book, intituled, The Judgment of the late Primat of Ireland, &c. viz. " That he ever declared his opinion to be, that Episcopus & Presbyter gradu tantum differunt, non ordine, and consequently that in places where Bishops cannot be had, the ordination by Presbyters standeth valid. And however (saith he) I must needs think that the Churches in France, who living under a Popish power, and cannot do what they would, are more excusable in that defect than those of the Low-Countries, that live under a

[b] Resp. Pet. sect. 10.

Free-State, yet for the testifying my communion with these Churches (which I do love and honour as true members of the Church Universal) I do profess, that with like affection I should receive the blessed Sacrament at the hands of the Dutch ministers, if I were in Holland, as I should do at the hands of the French ministers, if I were at Charenton." Which opinion as I cannot deny to have been my Lord Primate's, since I find the same written almost verbatim with his own hand, (dated Nov. 26. 1655. in a private note-book) not many months before his death, with the addition of this clause at the beginning, viz. "Yet, on the other side, holding as I do, that a Bishop hath superiority in degree above Presbyters, you may easily judge that the ordination made by such Presbyters as have severed themselves from their Bishops, cannot possibly by me be excused from being schismatical." And concluding with another clause, viz. "for the agreement or disagreement in radical and fundamental doctrines; not the consonancy, or dissonancy in the particular points of ecclesiastical government is with me (and I hope with every man that mindeth peace) the rule of adhering to, or receding from the Communion of any Church." And that the Lord Primate was always of this opinion, I find by another note of his own hand, written in another book many years before this, in these words, viz. "The intrinsecal power of ordaining proceedeth not from jurisdiction, but only from order. But a Presbyter hath the same order in specie with a Bishop; ergo, a Presbyter hath equally an intrinsecal power to give orders; and is equal to him in the power of order; the Bishop having no higher degree in respect of intention, or extension of the character of order; tho he hath an higher degree, i. e. a more eminent place in respect of authority and jurisdiction in spiritual regiment." Again, "the Papists teach that the confirmation of the baptized is proper to a Bishop, as proceeding from the episcopal character as well as ordination: and yet in some cases may be communicated to a Presbyter, and much more therefore in regard of the over-ruling commands of invincible necessity, although the right of baptising was given by Christ's own commission to the Apostles, and their successors: and yet in case of necessity allowed to lay-men: even so ordination might be devolved to Presbyters in case of necessity." These passages perhaps may seem to some men inconsistent with what the Lord Primate hath written in some of his printed treatises, and particularly that of the Original of Episcopacy, wherein he proves from Rev. 3. 1. that the Stars there des-

cribed in our blessed Saviour's right hand, to be the angels of the seven Churches. 2. That these angels were the several Bishops of those Churches, and not the whole Colledg of Presbyters, as Mr. Brightman would have it. 3. Nor has he proved Archbishops less ancient, each of these seven churches being at that time a metropolis, which had several Bishops under it; and 4 that these Bishops and Archbishops were ordained by the Apostles, as constant permanent officers in the Church, and so in some sort jure divino; that is, in St. Hierom's sence, were ordained by the Apostles for the better conferring of orders, and for preventing of schisms, which would otherwise arise among Presbyters, if they had been all left equal, and independent to each other. And that this may very well consist with their being in some cases of necessity, not absolutely necessary in some churches, is proved by the learned Mr. Mason, in his defence of the ordination of ministers beyond the seas, where there are no Bishops, in which he proves at large against the Papists, that make this objection from their own schoolmen and canonists; " and that tho a Bishop receives a sacred office, eminency in degree, and a larger ecclesiastical jurisdiction than a Presbyter, yet that all these do not confer an absolute distinct order; and yet that Bishops are still jure divino, that is, by the ordinance of God, since they were ordained by the Apostles, and whereunto they were directed by God's Holy Spirit, and in that sence are the ordinance of God. But if by jure divino, you would understand a law binding all Christian Churches universally, perpetually, unchangeably, and with such absolute necessity that no other form of regiment may in any case be admitted, in this sence we cannot grant it to be jure divino." And much of the same opinion is the learned Bishop Davenant in his treatise.

So that you see here that as learned men, and as stout asserters of episcopacy as any the Church of England hath had, have been of the Lord Primate's judgment in this matter, tho without any design to lessen the order of Bishops, or to take away their use in the Church, since Mr. Mason in the said treatise, tho he grants the French Churches (having a constant president of the presbytery) to enjoy the substance of the episcopal office; yet whereas their discipline is still very defective, he wishes them in the bowels of Christ by all means to redress and reform it, and to conform themselves to the ancient custom of the Church of Christ: so that I hope after all, this question, Whether episcopacy be Ordo or Gradus, will prove only a difference in words

rather than substance, between those of the Lord Primate's judgment, and those of the contrary, since they are both agreed in the main points in controversie between them and the Presbyterians, viz. That Bishops were ordained in the Church by the Apostles themselves, from the direction, or at least approbation of our Saviour himself, being the stars which St. John saw in his vision in our Lord Christ's own hand, and that they are permanent, immutable officers in the Church, which cannot subsist without it, but in cases of pure necessity. And lastly, that those Presbyters, which in churches founded and setled with Bishops, do separate from them, are guilty of schism. These things being agreed upon on both sides, I think the rest of the controversie is not worth contending about. But if any learned persons of the Church of England, who are well vers'd in the writings of the Fathers, and other ancient monuments of the Church, have already proved, or can further make out, that episcopacy has always been an absolute distinct order, as well as office in the Church, I suppose the Lord Primate, were he now alive, would be so far from opposing them, that he would heartily thank them for giving him greater light, provided it could be done without unchurching all those Protestant Churches abroad who want Bishops. And I hope however, if the Lord Primate may be thought by the Doctor, or others, not to go high enough in this matter, nor sufficiently to magnifie his own office, yet that he may well be pardoned, since it proceeded from his excess of humility, and charity towards our neighbouring-Churches, to whom no good Protestants ought to deny the right-hand of fellowship.

The third point which the Doctor will have the Lord Primate to hold contrary to the doctrine of the Church of England, "which (he says) maintains an universal redemption of all mankind, by the sufferings and death of Christ, as is proved by the prayer of consecration of the sacred elements in the Sacrament, which declares, that God hath given to his Son Jesus Christ, by his suffering death upon the cross, and by the oblation of himself, a full and sufficient sacrifice, oblation, and satisfaction for the sins of the whole world. And also that in the publick catechism, the party catechised is taught, to believe in God the Son, who hath redeemed him, and all mankind. But that in this point the Lord Primate is of a contrary judgment to the Church of England. For as he seems not to like their opinion, who contract the riches of Christ's satisfaction into too narrow a room, as if none had any interest therein but such as were elected before the founda-

tion of the world; so he declareth his dislike of the other extream (as he is pleased to call it) by which the benefit of this satisfaction is extended to the redemption of all mankind. The one extremity (saith he) extends the benefit of Christ's satisfaction so far, ut[c] reconciliationem cum Deo, & peccatorem remissionem singulis impetraverit, as to obtain a reconciliation with God, and a remission of sins for all men at his merciful hands, p. 21. which tho they are the words of the Remonstrants at the Conference at the Hague, anno 1611, and are by him reckoned for untrue; yet do they naturally result from the doctrine of universal redemption, which is maintained in the Church of England; not that all mankind is so perfectly reconciled to Almighty God, as to be really and actually discharged from all their sins, before they actually believe, (which the Lord Primate makes to be the meaning and effect of that extremity, as he calls it, p. 2.) but that they are so far reconciled unto Him as to be capable of the remission of their sins, in case they do not want that faith in their common Saviour which is required thereunto." And here the Doctor thinks he finds out two notable contradictions in the Lord Primate's letter of the year 1617, since in one part thereof, he seems to dislike of their opinion, who contract the riches of Christ's satisfaction into too narrow a room; as if none had any kind of interest therein, but such as were elected before the foundation of the world, as before was said. And in the other he declares, that he is well assured that our Saviour hath obtained at the hands of his Father reconciliation, and forgiveness of sins, not for the reprobate, but elect only. p. 21. Now the Doctor has done his worst. Yet I hope to prove that tho there may be a difference between my Lord Primate's way of explaining this doctrine, and that of the Doctor's, (which proceeds indeed from the different notions they had of election and reprobation); yet that there is no such formidable contradiction in these two propositions of my Lord Primate's by him laid down, as the Doctor fancies; or that the Ld Primate hath maintained any thing in this doctrine contrary to that of the Church of England: for (1.) the Doctor owns that all mankind is not so perfectly reconciled to Almighty God, as to be really and actually discharged from all their sins, before they actually believe; but that they are so far reconciled unto him, as to be capable of the remission of their sins, in case they do not want that faith in their common

[c] The Lord Primate's Judgment.

Saviour which is required thereunto. Now what will the Doctor get by these words, "if they are so far reconciled to him, as to be capable of the remission of their sins, in case they do not want that faith which is required thereunto," since the question still remains between the Lord Primate, and those of the contrary opinion, whether all men can obtain, without the aid of grace, this saving faith which is required thereunto? Our Saviour says the direct contrary, Joh. 6. 44. 65. "No man can come to me, except the Father which hath sent me draw him: and I will raise him up at the last day." And St. Paul tells us, Ephes. 2. 8. "For by grace are ye saved, through faith; and that not of your selves, it is the gift of God." So Phil. 1. 29. And that likewise it is the greatness of God's power that raises man's heart unto this faith, Ephes. 1. 19. So then faith being the work of God in man's heart, (which he bestows on whom he pleases) all the question now is, whether Christ has obtained reconciliation, and remission of sins from his Father for those whom God foresaw would, or could not obtain this saving faith? and if not, consequently not for the reprobate, (as the Lord Primate hath laid down) they being only reprobate, for want of this faith. Nor will this be contradictory to my Lord Primate's other proposition, "against such who contract the riches of Christ's satisfaction into too narrow a room, as if none had any kind of interest therein, but such as were elected before the foundation of the world." Since this is to be understood of the supralapsarian opinion, which makes reprobation to be antecedant to the fall of Adam, and not only as a præterition, but a predamnation for actual sins. Whereas the Lord Primate held that mankind considered in massa corrupta after the fall of Adam, was the only object of God's election or reprobation; so that it is in this sence that he is to be understood when he says that our Saviour hath obtained at the hands of his Father forgiveness of sins, not for the reprobate, but elect only. Nor does he say that this proceeds from any deficiency in our Saviour's death, and satisfaction, which is sufficient to save the whole world, if they would lay hold of it, and apply it to themselves; but the reason why all men were not thereby saved, was, because they do not accept salvation when offered to them. Which is the Lord Primate's express words, in a sermon upon John 1. 12. concerning our redemption by Christ. So that those passages in our Liturgy and Catechism, before cited by the Doctor, of Christ's being a sufficient sacrifice for the sins of the whole world; and in the Catechism, of his redeeming all man-

kind; must certainly be understood in this restrictive sence, viz. to as many of the world of mankind, as God foresaw would lay hold of this satisfaction by faith and good works; or else all men must have a like share therein, whether they contribute any thing to it by faith or repentance or not. And now I shall leave it to the indifferent reader to judge whether the Lord Primate or the Doctor are most to be blamed for breaking their subscription to the 39 Articles (as the Doctor would have him guilty of in this point) because the Church of England in its second Article says expresly, "that Christ suffered, was crucified, dead, and buried, to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice not only for original guilt, but also for the actual sins of men. In which" (says he) "as well the sacrifice, as the effect and fruit thereof, which is the reconciliation of mankind to God the Father, is delivered in general terms, without any restriction put upon them; neither the sacrifice, nor the reconciliation being restrained to this or that man, some certain quidams of their own, whom they pass commonly by the name of God's elect. The sacrifice being made for the sins of men, of men indefinitly without limitation, is not to be confined to some few men only." Yet after the Doctor has said all he can, it seems still to me (and I suppose to any unprejudiced reader) that these Christ suffered, &c. to reconcile his Father to us, and to be a sacrifice, &c. for the actual sins of men—to be, not general, but limited propositions: since by reconciling his Father to us, can be understood no further than to us that are not reprobates (every man supposing himself not to be of that number); and in this sence the Lord Primate himself makes use of the words we and us in his Body of Divinity, when he speaks of justification and reconciliation by faith, tho he there supposes that all men are not actually justified, nor reconciled to God by Christ's sufferings. And as for the last clause, it is no more general than the former: for tho the word men be used in that place indefinitly, yet it is not therefore a general proposition, it being still to be understood of those men who truly believe; for otherwise it had been very easie and natural for the framers of this Article to have added this small word [all]; and if they had, the question would have been much as it was before, Christ's death being a sacrifice that did not actually take away the sins of the whole world, (for then none could be damned) tho vertually it hath power to do it, if it were rightly applied, the sacrifice having such virtue in it self, that if all the world would take it and apply it, it were able to expiate the sins

of the whole world, as the Lord Primate in the above cited sermon very plainly and truly expresses himself on this doctrine.

The fourth point which the Doctor accuses the Lord Primat not to hold according to the Church of England, is that of the true and real presence of Christ's most precious body and blood in the Sacrament. Which doctrine of a real presence, he first proves from the words of the distribution, retained in the first Liturgy of King Edward the Sixth, and formerly prescribed to be used in the ancient missals, viz. "The Body of our Lord Jesus Christ which was given for thee, preserve thy body and soul unto life everlasting. The Blood of our Lord Jesus Christ," &c. It is proved, secondly, by that passage in the publick Catechism, in which the party catechised is taught to say, that the body and blood of Christ are verily and indeed taken and received of the faithful in the Lord's Supper. Now if a question should be made, what the Church means by verily and indeed in the former passage, it must be answered, that she means, that Christ is truly and really present in that blessed Sacrament, as before was said; the words being rendred thus in the Latin translation, viz. "Corpus & sanguis Domini quæ verè & realiter exhibentur," &c. verily and indeed, as the English hath it, the same with verè and realiter, (that is to say, truly and really) as it is in the Latin. He likewise cites Bp. Bilson, Bp. Morton, and Bp. Andrews, all of them to maintain a true and real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; and likewise Mr. Alex. Noel in his Latin Catechism makes the party catechised answer to this effect, that the body and blood of Christ given in the Lord's Supper, and eaten and drank by them, tho it be only in an heavenly and spiritual manner, yet are they both given and taken truly and really, or in very deed, by God's faithful people. By which it seems it is agreed on both sides, (that is to say, the Church of England, and the Church of Rome) that there is a true and real presence of Christ in the holy Eucharist, the disagreement being only in the modus præsentiæ. But on the contrary, the Ld Primate, in his answer to the Jesuit's Challenge, hath written one whole chapter against the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament; in which tho he would seem to aim at the Church of Rome, (tho by that Church not only the real presence of Christ in the Sacrament, but the corporal eating of his body is maintained and taught) yet doth he strike obliquely and on the by on the Church of England. All that he doth allow concerning the real presence is no more than this, viz. "That in the receiving of the blessed

Sacrament, we are to distinguish between the outward and the inward action of the communicant. In the outward, with our bodily mouth we receive really the visible elements of bread and wine; in the inward, we do by faith really receive the body and blood of our Lord; that is to say, we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, to the spiritual strengthning of our inward man." Which is no more than any Calvinist will stick to say.

But now after all these hard words the Doctor has here bestowed upon my Lord Primate (part of which I omit); I think I can without much difficulty make it appear, that all this grievous accusation of the Doctor's is nothing but a meer λογομαχία, a strife about words, and that the Lord Primate held and believed this doctrine in the same sence with the Church of England; 1. Then the 29th Article of our Church disavows all transubstantiation, or the change of the substance of bread and wine in the Supper of the Lord. The second asserts that the body of Christ is given, taken, and eaten in the Supper, only after an heavenly and spiritual manner; and that the mean whereby the body of Christ is received and eaten in the Supper, is faith. And now I will leave it to the unprejudiced reader to judge whether the Lord Primate's way of explaining this Sacrament (according to the passage before cited by the Doctor) does differ in sence from these Articles, (however it may somewhat in words, as coming nearer the Articles in Ireland, which the Bishop when he writ this book had alone subscribed to, and was bound to maintain): for I think no true son of the Church of England will deny that in this Sacrament they still really receive the visible elements of bread and wine. 2. That in the inward and spiritual action we really receive the body and blood of our Lord, as the Lord Primate has before laid down.

But perhaps it will be said, that the Lord Primate goes further in this Article than the Church of England does, and takes upon him to explain in what sence we receive the body and blood of our Lord, and that otherwise than the Church of England does; he explaining it thus, that is to say, we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, to the spiritual strengthning of our inward man; whereas the Church of England declares that the body of Christ is eaten only after a heavenly and spiritual manner; yet still maintains the body of Christ to be eaten, whereas the Lord Primate only says, that we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, but does not say (as the Article of our Church does) that we

are therein partakers of the body and blood of Christ. But I desire the objector to consider, whether the explanation of our Church does not amount to the same thing in effect, that saying that the body of Christ is eaten in the Supper after a heavenly and spiritual manner; and the Lord Primate, that we are truly and indeed made partakers of Christ crucified, viz. after a spiritual, and not a carnal manner. But perhaps the Doctor's friends may still object, that the Lord Primate does not express this real presence of Christ's body and blood in the Sacrament, as Bp. Bilson and Bp. Morton assert, the former saying "that Christ's flesh and blood are truly present, and truly received by the faithful in the Sacrament," and the latter expresly owning a real presence therein. And Bishop Andrews, in his Apology to Cardinal Bellarmine, thus declares himself, viz. "Præsentiam credimus non minus quam vos veram, de modo præsentiæ nil temere definimus." Which the Doctor renders thus: we acknowledg (saith he) a presence as true and[d] real as you do, but we determine nothing rashly of the manner of it. And the Church Catechism above cited, as also the Latin Catechism of Mr. Noel, confess the body and blood of our Lord are truly and indeed (or as the Latin translation renders it, vere & realiter) taken and received in the Lord's Supper. Which the Lord Primate does not affirm. I know not what such men would have. The Lord Primate asserts that we do by faith really receive the body and blood of Christ, and that in the same sence with Mr. Noel's Catechism, and the Article of the Church, viz. that Christ's body is received after a spiritual and heavenly manner. Which was added to exclude any real presence as taken in a carnal or bodily sence. So that our Church does in this Article explain the manner of the presence (notwithstanding what Bp. Andrews says to the contrary.) Nor know I what they can here further mean by a real presence, unless a carnal one; which indeed the Church of England at the first Reformation thought to be all one with the real, as appears by these words, in the first Articles of religion agreed on in the Convocation 1552, (Anno 5. Edw. 6.) "It becometh not any of the faithful to believe or profess, that there is a real or corporal presence of the body and blood of Christ in the holy Eucharist." And that our Church did likewise at the first passing of the 39 Articles in Convocation, anno 1562, likewise disallow any real presence, taken in a carnal sence, "Christ's body being always in heaven at the right hand of God, and therefore cannot be in

[d] He adds the word real, which is not in the Latin.

more places than one :" appears by the original of those Articles, to be seen in the library of Corpus Christi Colledg in Cambridg, where tho this passage against a real or corporal presence (which they then thought to be all one) are dash'd over with red ink; yet so, as it is still legible, therefore it may not be amiss to give you Dr. Burnet's reasons* in his 2d part of the History of the Reformation, p. 406, for the doing of it, . . "The secret of it was this; the Queen and her Council studied to unite all into the communion of the Church; and it was alledged, that such an express definition against a real presence, might drive from the Church many who were still of that perswasion; and therefore it was thought to be enough to condemn transubstantiation, and to say that Christ was present after a spiritual manner, and received by faith; to say more, as it was judged superfluous, so it might occasion division. Upon this, these words were by common consent left out; and in the next Convocation the Articles were subscribed without them. This shews that the doctrine of the Church, then subscribed by the whole Convocation, was at that time contrary to the belief of a real and corporal presence in the Sacrament; only it was not thought necessary, or expedient to publish it. Though from this silence, which flowed not from their opinion, but the wisdom of that time, in leaving a liberty for different speculations, as to the manner of the presence, some have since inferred, that the chief pastors of this Church did then disapprove of the definition made in King Edward's time, and that they were for a real presence." And that our Protestant Bishops that were martyr'd in Queen Mary's days were against this expression of a real presence of Christ as a natural body, appears by those questions which they disputed on solemnly at Oxford before their martyrdom: the first question, "Whether the natural body of Christ was really in the Sacrament?" The second, "Whether no other substance did remain but the body and blood of Christ?" Both which they held in the negative. So that since this expression of a real presence of Christ's body, was not maintained by our first Protestant Reformers, nor used by the Church of England in her Articles, I do not see of what use it can be now, (tho perhaps only meant in a spiritual sence by most that make use of it; for the real presence of a body, and yet unbodily; I suppose those that speak thus, understand as little as I do) unless that some men love to come as

* Vid. Dr Burnet's Hist. of the Reformation, part 2, p. 405.

near the Papists as may be in their expressions, tho without any hopes now of ever making them approach the nearer to us, and in the mean time giving matter of offence and scandal to divers ignorant and weak Christians of our own religion.

The fifth point that the Doctor taxes the Lord Primate with as held by him contrary to the Church of England, is, "That she teaches that the priest hath power to forgive sins, as may be easily proved by three several arguments, not very easie to be answered. The first is from those solemn words, used in the ordination of the priest, or presbyter, that is to say, 'Receive the Holy Ghost. Whose sins ye forgive, they are forgiven; and whose sins ye retain, they are retained.' Which were a gross prophanation of the words of our Lord and Saviour, and a meer mockery of the priest, if no such power were given unto him, as is there affirmed. The second argument is taken from one of the exhortations before the Communion, where we find the people are exhorted by the priest, 'that if they cannot quiet their consciences, they should come unto him, or some other discreet minister of God's Word, and open their grief, that they may receive such ghostly advice and comfort, as their consciences may be relieved, and that by the ministry of God's Word they may receive comfort, and the benefit of absolution, to the quieting of their consciences, and avoiding of all scruple and doubtfulness.' The third and most material proof, is the form prescribed for the Visitation of the Sick; in which it is required, 'that after the sick person hath made a confession of his faith, and professed himself to be in charity with all men, he shall then make a special confession, if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter.' And then it follows, that after such confession, the minister shall absolve him in this manner, viz. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ who has left power to his Church to absolve all sinners that truly repent, and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences: and by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins, in the name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost. Amen.' Of the first of these three places, deduced all of them from the best monuments and records of the Church of England, the Lord Primate takes notice in his answer to the Jesuit's Challenge, where he treateth purposely of the priests power to forgive sins, but gives us such a gloss upon it, as utterly subverts as well the doctrine of this Church in that particular, as her purpose in it. And of the second he takes notice, where he speaks pur-

posely of confession, but gives us such a gloss upon that also, as he did upon the other. But of the third, which is more positive and material than the other two, he is not pleased to take any notice at all, as if no such doctrine were either taught by the Church of England, or no such power had been ever exercised by the ministers of it: for in the canvassing of this point, he declares sometimes that the priest doth forgive sins only declarative, by the way of declaration only; when on the consideration of the true faith, and sincere repentance of the party penitent, he doth declare unto him in the name of God, that his sins are pardoned, and sometimes that the priest forgives sins only optative, by the way of prayers and intercession; when on the like consideration he makes his prayers unto God, that the sins of the penitent may be pardoned. Neither of which comes up unto the doctrine of the Church of England; which holdeth that the priest forgiveth sins authoritative, by virtue of a power committed to him by our Lord and Saviour. That the supream power of forgiving sins is in God alone, against whose divine majesty all sins, of what sort soever, may be truly said to be committed, was never question'd by any who pretended to the Christian faith. The power which is given to the priest is but a delegated power, such as is exercised by Judges under soveraign princes (where they are not tied unto the verdict of twelve men, as with us in England) who by the power committed to them in their several circuits and divisions, do actually absolve the party which is brought before them, if on good proof they find him innocent of the crimes he stands accused for, and so discharge him of his irons. And such a power as this, I say, is both given to, and exercised by the priests, or presbyters in the Church of England. For if they did forgive sins only declarative; that form of absolution which follows the general confession in the beginning of the Common-prayer-Book would have been sufficient, where the absolution is put in the third person; or, if he did forgive sins only optative, in the way of prayers and intercession, there could not be a better way of absolution, than that which is prescribed to be used by the priest or bishop, after the general confession made by such as are to receive the Communion, viz. 'Almighty God, and heavenly Father, &c. have mercy upon you, pardon you, and deliver you from all your sins,' &c. Or else the first clause in the form of absolution used at the Visitation of the Sick, would have served the turn; viz. 'Our Lord Jesus Christ, who hath left power to his Church to absolve all sinners, which

truly repent and believe in him, of his great mercy forgive thee thine offences;' and there could be no reason at all imaginable why the next clause should be superadded to this prayer, viz. 'And by his authority committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins,' &c. if the priest did not forgive sins authoritative, by such a delegated and commissionated power as before we spake of."

After all which tedious charge of the Doctor's against the Lord Primate, which I have been forced to transcribe, to let the impartial reader see I shall not answer him by halves, I doubt not but to proue that first the Doctor hath dealt very disingenuously with the Lord Primate's book, by him there cited, out of which he hath culled some passages here and there, on purpose to cavil and find fault: for I shall shew you (1.) that the Lord Primate doth there assert, that whatsoever the priest or minister contributes in this great work of cleansing the souls of men, they do it as God's ministers, and receiving a power from God so to do; and that tho perhaps he does not make use of the Doctor's distinction of authoritative, yet he speaks the same sence. (2.) That admit the priest does absolve authoritative, yet that this absolution can only operate declarative, or optative, and not absolutely. And 3dly, that the Church of England in none of the three forms of absolution above mentioned (no, not in the last which he so much insists upon) does pretend to give any larger power to the priest or minister than this amounts to.

As for the first head I have laid down, I shall prove it from the Lord Primate's own words, in the same treatise before cited by the Doctor; who agrees with the Lord Primate, that the supream power of forgiving sins is in God alone. Next, that the power given to the priest, is but a delegated power from God himself. Now that the Lord Primate owns the priest, or minister, to be endowed with such a power, I shall put down his own words in the said book: viz. "Having[f] thus reserved unto God his prerogative royal in cleansing the soul, we give unto his under-officers their due, when we account of them as of the ministers of Christ, and stewards of the mysteries of God. Not as lords, that have power to dispose of spiritual graces as they please, but as servants that are tied to follow their Master's prescriptions therein; and in following thereof, do but bring their external ministry, (for which it self also they are beholden to

[f] Answer to the Jesuit's Challenge, Works, vol. iii. pag. 126.

God's mercy and goodness) God conferring the inward blessing of his Spirit thereupon, when and where he will: 'Who then is Paul, (saith St. Paul himself) and who is Apollos, but ministers by whom ye believed, even as the Lord gave to every man.' 'Therefore,' saith Optatus, 'in all the servants there is no dominion, but a ministery; cui creditur, ipse dat quod creditur, non per quem creditur; it is he who is believed, that giveth the thing that is believed, not he by whom we do believe.' Whereas our Saviour then saith unto his Apostles, Joh. 20. 'Receive the Holy Ghost: Whose sins ye forgive, shall be forgiven.' St. Ambrose, St. Augustine, St. Chrysostom, and St. Cyril, make this observation thereupon, that this is not their work properly, but the work of the Holy Ghost, who remitteth by them, and therein performeth the work of the true God."

"To[g] forgive sins therefore being thus proper to God only, and to his Christ: his ministers must not be held to have this power communicated unto them, but in an improper sence; namely, because God forgiveth by them; and hath appointed them both to apply those means by which he useth to forgive sins, and to give notice unto repentant sinners of that forgiveness. For who can forgive sins but God alone? yet doth he forgive by them also, unto whom he hath given power to forgive, saith St. Ambrose. And tho it be the proper work of God to remit sins, saith Ferus; yet are the Apostles (and their successors) said to remit also, not simply, but because they apply those means whereby God doth remit sins."

After the Lord Primate had shewed in the pages before-going, that the power of binding and loosing consists in exercising the discipline of the Church, in debarring or admitting penitents from or to the Communion, he proceeds thus; "That[h] this authority of loosing remaineth still in the Church, we constantly maintain against the heresie of the Montanists and Novatians, &c."

And after having confuted the uncharitableness of those hereticks, who denied that penitents who had committed heinous sins, ought to be received into the communion of the Church, goes on thus, "That[i] speech of his (viz. St. Paul's) is specially noted, and pressed against the hereticks by St. Ambrose, 'To whom ye forgive any thing, I forgive also: for if I forgave any thing to whom I forgave it, for your sakes I forgave it, in the

[g] See the places cited at large in the book, pag. 127. 128.
[h] Works, vol. iii. pag. 127. [i] Ibid. pag. 140.

person of Christ.' For as 'in the name, and by the power of our Lord Jesus, such a one was delivered to Satan; so God having given unto him repentance, to recover himself out of the snare of the Devil, in the same name, and in the same power was he to be restored again; the ministers of reconciliation standing in Christ's stead, and Christ himself being in the midst of them that are thus gathered together in his name, will bind or loose in heaven, whatsoever they according to his commission shall bind or loose on earth." Then after he has shewn that the power of the priest, or ministers of the Gospel, is only ministerial and declarative, like that of the priests under the Law of Moses, "Where[k] the laws are set down that concern the leprosie, (which was a type of the pollution of sin) we meet often with these speeches; the priest shall cleanse him, and the priest shall pollute him; and in vers. 44. of the same chapter[l], the priest with pollution shall pollute him, as it is in the original; 'not,' saith St. Hierom, 'that he is the author of the pollution, but that he declareth him to be polluted, who before did seem unto many to have been clean.' Whereupon the master of the sentences (following herein St. Hierom, and being afterwards therein followed himself by many others) observeth that 'in remitting, or retaining sins, the priests of the Gospel have that right and office, which the legal priests had of old under the law, in curing of the lepers. These therefore (saith he) forgive sins, or retain them whiles they shew, and declare that they are forgiven, or retained by God. For the priests put the name of the Lord upon the children of Israel, but it was he himself that blessed them.'"

"Neither[m] do we grant hereby, (as the aduersary falsly chargeth us) that a lay-man, yea or a woman, or a child, or any infidel, or a parrat likewise, if he be taught the words, may in this sence as well absolve as the priest, as if the speech were all the thing that here were to be considered, and not the power: whereas we are taught that the kingdom of God is not in word, but in power. Indeed if the priests by their office brought nothing with them but the ministry of the bare letter, a parrat peradventure might be taught to sound that letter as well as they; but we belieue that God hath made them able ministers of the New Testament, not of the letter, but of the spirit; and that the Gospel ministred by them, cometh unto us not in word only, but also

[k] Works, vol. iii. pag. 147. 148.. [l] Lev. 13.

[m] Works, vol. iii. pag. 148. Bellarmin. de Pœnitent. lib. 3. cap. 2. sect. ult.

in power, and in the holy Ghost, and in much assurance. For God hath added a special beauty to the feet of them that preach the Gospel of peace, that howsoever others may bring glad-tidings of good things to the penitent sinner, as truly as they do: yet neither can they do it with the same authority, neither is it to be expected that they should do it with such power, such assurance, and such full satisfaction to the afflicted conscience. The speech of every Christian (we know) should be imployed to the use of edifying, that it may minister grace unto the hearers; and a private brother in his place may deliver sound doctrine, reprehend vice, exhort to righteousness very commendably: yet hath the Lord notwithstanding all this, for the necessary use of his Church, appointed publick officers to do the same things, and hath given to them a peculiar power for edification, wherein they may boast above others; and in the due execution whereof God is pleased to make them instruments of ministring a more plentiful measure of grace unto their hearers, than may be ordinarily looked for from others... These[n] are God's angels, and ambassadors for Christ, and therefore in delivering their message are to be received as an angel of God, yea as Christ Jesus. That look how the prophet Esay was comforted when the angel said unto him, 'Thy iniquity is taken away, and thy sin purged;' and the poor woman in the Gospel, when Jesus said unto her, 'Thy sins are forgiven:' the like consolation doth the distressed sinner receive from the mouth of the minister; when he hath compared the truth of God's word faithfully delivered by him, with the work of God's grace in his own heart. For as it is the office of this messenger, to pray us in Christ's stead, that we would be be reconciled unto God: so when we have listened unto this motion, and submitted our selves to the Gospel of peace, it is a part of his office likewise to declare unto us in Christ's stead, that we are reconciled to God: and in him Christ himself must be acknowledged to speak, who to us-ward by this means is not weak, but mighty in us."

Having now shewn what the Lord Primate hath said in that treatise; that the absolution of the priest, or minister, tho it be declarative, yet is still authoritative, by virtue of that power which Christ hath committed unto him. But that this is no absolute power, but still only declarative, I shall prove in the next place, as well from what the Lord Primate hath here laid

[n] Works, vol. iii. pag. 149.

down, as from the nature of the absolution it self, the Lord Primat having before declared, "that[o] the prayer of the priest is one great means of obtaining remission of sins," I shall now shew you that the Doctor did not so well peruse the Lord Primate's book as he might have done, when he so confidently affirms, "that tho the Lord Primat has spoken somewhat of the declarative and optative forms of absolution, yet he hath taken no notice of the indicative, or that which is used in the absolution of the sick:" of which sort take the Lord Primat's words; "in[p] the days of Thomas Aquinas there arose a learned man among the Papists themselves, who found fault with that indicative form of absolution then used by the priest, I absolve thee from all thy sins, and would have it delivered by way of deprecation; alledging that this was not only the opinion of Guliel. Altisiodorensis, Guliel. Paris. and Hugo Cardinal; but also that thirty years were scarce passed since all did use this form only, 'absolutionem & remissionem tribuat tibi Omnipotens Deus, Almighty God give unto thee absolution and forgiveness.' This only will I add, that as well in the ancient Rituals, and in the new Pontificial of the Church of Rome, as in the present practice of the Greek Church, I find the absolution expressed in the third person, as attributed wholly to God, and not in the first, as if it came from the priest himself." And after the Lord Primate hath there shewn, "that[q] the most ancient forms of absolution both in the Latin and Greek Church, were in the third and not in the first person, he proceeds thus: "Alexander of Hales, and Bonaventure, in the form of absolution used in their time, observe that prayer was premised in the optative, and absolution adjoined afterward in the indicative mood. Whence they gather that the priest's prayer obtaineth grace, his absolution presupposeth it, and that by the former he ascendeth unto God, and procureth pardon for the fault; by the latter he descendeth to the sinner, and reconcileth him to the Church. For although a man be loosed before God, (saith the master of the sentences) yet is he not held loosed in the face of the Church but by the judgment of the priest. And this loosing of men by the judgment of the priest, is by the Fathers generally accounted nothing else but a restoring them to

[o] Works, vol. iii. pag. 130. [p] Ibid. pag. 135.

[q] That all the antient forms of absolution in the Greek Church were till of late only declarative, or optative, and always in the 3d, not first person. See Dr. Smith's learned Account of the Gr. Church, pp. 180. 181.

the peace of the Church, and admitting of them to the Lord's Table again: which therefore they usually express by the terms of bringing them to the Communion; reconciling them to, or with the Communion; restoring the Communion to them; admitting them to fellowship; granting them peace, &c. Neither do I find that they did ever use any such formal absolution as this, I absolve thee from all thy sins: wherein our Popish priests notwithstanding, do place the very form of their late-devised sacrament of penance, nay hold it to be so absolute a form, that (according to Thomas Aquinas his new divinity) it would not be sufficient to say, Almighty God have mercy upon thee, or God grant unto thee absolution and forgiveness: because, forsooth, the priest by these words doth not signifie that the absolution is done, but entreateth that it may be done. Which how it will accord with the Roman Pontificial, where the form of absolution is laid down prayer-wise, the Jesuits who follow Thomas may do well to consider."

Now how near the Doctor approaches to this opinion of the Papists when he urges these words, "I absolve thee from all thy sins," as an argument of the priests power to forgive sins authoritative, and as if this form had something more in it, or could work further towards the remission of the sins of the penitent than any of the rest, I shall leave it to the reader. Whereas whosoever will consider the office of the priest, will find that it is not like that of a Judg, or a Vice-roy (as the Doctor would have it) under a Soverain prince; who has power not only to declare the person absolved from his crimes, but also may reprieve, or pardon him when guilty, or condemn him tho innocent, neither of which perhaps the prince himself, by whose commission he acts, would do: whereas the priest, whatever power he has delegated from God, (which I do not deny) yet it is still only declarative, and conditional, according to the sincerity of the repentance in the person absolved. For as his absolution signifies nothing, if the repentance of the penitent, or dying person, be not real or sincere; so neither can he hinder God from pardoning him, if it be so indeed, tho he should be so wicked, or uncharitable, as to deny him the benefit of this absolution, if he desire it: so that the office of the priest in this matter, rather resembleth that of an herald, who has a commission from his Prince to proclaim and declare pardon to a company of rebels who have already submitted themselves, and promised obedience to their Prince; which pardon as it signifies nothing, if they still continue in their re-

bellion; so tho the herald alone has the power of declaring this pardon, yet it is only in the name, and by the authority of his Prince, who had passed this pardon in his own breast before ever the herald published it to the offenders: so that it is in this sence only that the priest can say thus,—"By his authority (viz. of our Lord Jesus Christ) committed to me, I absolve thee from all thy sins," since he does this not as Christ's Vicar, or Judg under him, but as his herald or ambassador, or, as St. Paul words it, "In the person of Christ forgives our offences;" yet still conditionally, that we are really penitent, and consequently is not effective, but only declarative of that forgiveness.

I shall now in the last place shew you, that the Church of England understands it in no other sence but this alone: and that if it did, it would make it all one with that of the Papists. First, that the form of absolution which follows the general Confession, is only declarative the Doctor himself grants; so likewise that before the Communion is only optative, in the way of prayer and intercession, and consequently no other than declarative or conditional; and therefore that the absolution to particular penitents both in order to receive the Communion, as also in the Visitation of the Sick, are no other likewise than declarative, appears from the great tenderness of the Church of England in this matter, not enjoining, but only advising the penitent in either case to make any special confession of his sins to the priest, (in which case alone this absolution is supposed to be necessary) unless he cannot quiet his conscience without it, or if he feel his conscience troubled with any weighty matter, after which confession the priest shall absolve him. But our Church does not declare that either the penitent is obliged to make any such special confession to the priest either before the Sacrament, or at the point of death, or that any person cannot obtain remission of their sins without absolution, as the Church of Rome asserts; so that it seems our Church's absolution in all these cases is no other than declarative, and for the quieting of the conscience of the penitent, if he find himself so troubled in mind, that he thinks he cannot obtain pardon from God without it: tho the priest (as the herald above-mentioned, whose office it is to proclaim the King's pardon) still absolves authoritative, and could not do it unless he were authorized by Jesus Christ for that purpose. And if the Doctor, or any other, will maintain any higher absolution than this, it must be that of the Church of Rome, where a small attrition, or sorrow for sin, by virtue of the keys (that is, the absolution of the priest) is made

contrition, and the penitent is immediately absolved from all his sins; tho perhaps he commit the same again as soon as ever he has done the penance enjoyned. And that the pious and judicious Mr. Hooker (who certainly understood the doctrine of the Church of England as well as Dr. H.) agrees fully with the Lord Primate in this matter, appears from his sixth book of Ecclesiastical Policy, where after his declaring (with the Lord Primate) "that for any thing he could ever observe, those formalities the Church of Rome do so much esteem of, were not of such estimation, nor thought to be of absolute necessity with the ancient Fathers, and that the form with them was with invocation, or praying for the penitent, that God would be reconciled unto him;" for which he produces St. Ambrose, St. Hierom, and Leo, &c. p. 96. he thus declares his judgment, viz. "As for the ministerial sentence of privat absolution, it can be no more than a declaration what God hath done; it hath but the force of the Prophet Nathan's absolution, [God hath taken away thy sins;] than which construction, especially of words judicial, there is nothing more vulgar. For example, the Publicans are said in the Gospel to have justified God; the Jews in Malachy to have blessed the proud man, which sin, and prosper; not that the one did make God righteous, or the other the wicked happy; but to bless, to justifie, and to absolve, are as commonly used for words of judgment, or declaration, as of true and real efficacy; yea even by the opinion of the Master of the sentences, &c. priests are authorized to loose and bind, that is to say, declare who are bound, and who are loosed."

The last point in which the Doctor taxes the Lord Primate as differing from the Church of England, is in the Article of Christ's descent into hell; "The[r] Church of England (says he) maintains a local descent; that is to say, that the soul of Christ, at such time as his body lay in the grave, did locally descend into the nethermost parts, in which the Devil and his angels are reserved in everlasting chains of darkness, unto the judgment of the great and terrible day. This is proved at large by Bishop Bilson in his learned and laborious work, entitled, The Survey of Christ's Sufferings. And that this was the meaning of the first Reformers, when this Article amongst others was first agreed upon in the first Convocation of the year 1552, appears by that passage of St. Peter, which is cited by them touching Christ's preaching to

[r] Respon. Petrus, sect. 10. § 7.

the spirits which were in prison. And tho that passage be left out of the present Article, according as it passed in the Convocation of the year 1562, yet cannot it be used as an argument to prove that the Church hath altered her judgment in that point; as some men would have it; that passage being left out for these reasons following: for, first, that passage was conceived to make the Article too inclinable to the doctrine of the Church of Rome, which makes the chief end of Christ's descent into hell, to be the fetching thence the souls of the Fathers, who died before and under the law. And secondly, because it was conceived by some learned men, that the text was capable of some other construction than to be used for an argument of this descent. The judgment of the Church continues still the same as before it was, and is as plain and positive for a local descent as ever; she had not else left this Article in the same place in which she found it, or given it the same distinct title as before it had; viz. De Descensu Christi ad Inferos, in the Latin copies of King Edward the 6th, that is to say, Of the going down of Christ into Hell, as in the English copies of Queen Elizabeth's reign. Nor indeed was there any reason why this Article should have any distinct place or title at all, unless the maintenance of a local descent were intended by it. For having spoken in the former Article of Christ's suffering, crucifying, death and burial, it had been a very great impertinency (not to call it worse) to make a distinct Article of his descending into hell, if to descend into hell did signifie the same with this being buried, as some men then fancied; or that there were not in it some further meaning, which might deserve a place distinct from his death and burial. The Article speaking thus, [viz. as Christ died for us, and was buried; so is it to be believed that he went down into hell] is either to be understood of a local descent, or else we are tied to believe nothing by it, but what was explicitly or implicitly comprehended in the former Article. And lastly; that Mr. Alex. Noel, before mentioned, who being Prolocutor of the Convocation in the year 1562, when this Article was disputed, approved and ratified, cannot in reason be supposed to be ignorant of the true sence and meaning of this Church in that particular. And he in his Catechism (above mentioned) declares, that Christ descended in his body into the bowels of the earth, and in his soul, separated from that body, he descended also into hell; by means whereof the power and efficacy of his death was not made known only to the dead, but the Devils themselves; insomuch that both the souls of the un-

unbelievers did sensibly perceive that condemnation which was most justly due to them for their incredulity; and Satan himself the Prince of Devils, did as plainly see that his tyranny, and all the powers of darkness, were oppress, ruined, and destroyed. But on the contrary the L. Primate allows not any such local descent, as is maintained by the Church, and defended by the most learned members of it, who have left us any thing in writing about this Article. And yet he neither followeth the opinion of Calvin himself, nor of the generality of those of the Calvinian party, who herein differ from their master; but goes a new way of a later discovery, in which although he had few leaders, he hath found many followers. By Christ's descending into hell, he would have nothing else to be understood but his continuing in the state of separation between the body and the soul, his remaining under the power of death during the time he lay buried in the grave: which is no more in effect, tho it differ somewhat in the terms, than to say, that he died, and was buried, and rose not till the third day, as the Creed instructs us."

In vindication of the Lord Primate's judgment in the sence of this Article, I shall lay down some previous considerations to excuse him, if perhaps he differed from the sence of the Church of England in this Article, if it should appear that it ought to be understood in a strict and literal sence. For, first, you must understand that this Article of Christ's descent into hell, is not inserted amongst the Articles of the Church of Ireland, which were the Confession of Faith of that Church when the Lord Primate writ this answer to the Jesuit; the Articles of the Church of England (amongst which this of Christ's descent into hell is one) not being received by the Church of Ireland till the year 1634, ten years after the publishing of this book; so that he could not be accused for differing from those Articles, which he was not then obliged to receive, or subscribe to. 2dly. Had this Article been then inserted, and expressed in the very same words, as it is in those of the Church of England, could he be accused of being heterodox for not understanding it, as the Doctor does, of a local descent of Christ's soul into hell, or the places of torment, since the Church of England is so modest as only to assert, that it is to be believed that he went down into hell, without specifying in what sence she understands it? For, as the Lord Primate very learnedly proves in this treatise, "the[s] word hell

[s] Works, vol. iii. pag. 317.

in old Saxon, signifies no more than hidden, or covered; so that in the original propriety of the word, our hell doth exactly answer the Greek ἅιδης which denotes τὸν ἀϊδῆ τόπον, the place which is unseen, or removed from the sight of man. So that the word hell, signifies the same with Hades in the Greek, and Inferi in the Latin. Concerning which St. Augustin gives us this note; 'The name of Hell (in Latin Inferi) is variously put in Scriptures, and in many meanings, according as the sence of the things which are intreated of do require.' And Mr. Casaubon (who understood the property of Greek and Latin words as well as any) this other; 'They who think that Hades is properly the seat of the damned, be no less deceived, than they, who when they reade Inferos in Latin writers, do interpret it of the same place.'" Whereupon the Lord Primate proceeds to shew that by Hell, in divers places of Scripture, is not to be understood the place of the wicked, or damned, but of the dead in general; as in Psal. 89. 48. "What man is he that liveth and shall not see death? shall he deliver his soul from the hand of hell?" And Esa. 38. 18, 19. "Hell cannot praise thee; death cannot celebrate thee; they that go down in the pit cannot hope for thy truth. The living, the living, he shall praise thee, as I do this day." Where the opposition betwixt hell, and the state of life in this world, is to be observed. Therefore since the word hell does not necessarily imply a place of torment, either in Scriptures, or ancient authors; and that Christ's descent into Hell is not to be proved from any express place of Scripture, as the Doctor himself grants, since upon the review of the Articles of our Church, passed in Edward the Sixth's time, this passage of St. Peter, of Christ's preaching to the spirits in prison, was left out in the present Articles of our Church, as not well bearing that interpretation. And that the learned Grotius, and Dr. Hammond have in their Comments on the New Testament, explained this place in a quite different sence. So that all the light we can receive as to this Article of our Creed, must be sought for in the ancient Fathers of the Church, "whose opinions on this point are various and uncertain (as the Lord Primat sufficiently sets forth in this treatise) some of them understanding by this word Hell [or Hades], Abraham's bosom, or place of happiness, whither the angels carried Lazarus; or that Paradise in which our Saviour promised the good thief he should be with him. So that this sort of Hell can have no great difference from Heaven itself. Others of them will have our Saviour descend into Hell, or some out-skirts of

it, which were no places of torment, only that he might make the patriarchs and prophets a visit, whom they supposed to be there detained, tho he did not fetch them from thence. Others, as St. Jerom, St. Augustine, and others, suppose Christ to have descended into Hell, as the place of torment, to bring forth such souls of his as he found there. Others, that he went thither to preach, and to bring from thence all the souls of the heathens, that heard then, and believed his preaching. Others again, that he emptied Hell of all its prisoners, and left the devils there alone; which opinion, tho very untrue, was maintained by St. Cyril, and others: into which error they were led by the superficial consideration of those words of St. Peter above-mentioned." From which difference, and variety of opinions we may learn, that as the Fathers were not infallible; so this opinion of Christ's local descent into hell, as a place of torment, was not generally agreed on amongst them, no more than the reasons for which he should go thither. And therefore sure our more modern authors, as Bp. Bilson and Mr. Noel, could be no more certain than the Fathers themselves, in what sence our Saviour descended into hell, or what business he had to do there; especially since this Article of our Church only says, "we must believe he went down into hell," without specifying in what sence he went thither; which she might easily have done, if she had not thought it better to leave men to their liberty to put what reasonable sence they should think fit, upon so obscure and doubtful an Article; and which has so little influence upon our faith or manners, supposed to be taken in one or the other sence. Therefore I cannot see how the Lord Primate deserves to be blamed if in a matter of so great uncertainty and variety of opinions, he followed some of the most sober of the Fathers, who did not understand Christ's descent into hell, or Hades, to be understood of any local descent into a place of torment. And that the Lord Primate was not the first discoverer or broacher (as the Doctor would have him) of this interpretation of Hades, or hell, for the state of souls as separate from their bodies, I shall shew you from several quotations the Lord Primate makes use of, out of the Fathers, and other ancient authors to this purpose. First, as for the heathen, or profane writers, "he shews out of Plato, and other philosophers and poets, that the word Hades signifies a general invisible future state of the soul after it is separated from the body, consisting of two places, one of bliss, and the other of torment, according to the nature and actions of the soul whilst it was

united with the body, and which places they fancied to be as far beneath the earth as the heaven is from it: for they imagined that the earth was not round but flat, and that the sea and skies did meet. So that most of the ancient Fathers having no notion of the roundness of the earth, and of its being encompassed with air; and likewise being most of them Platonic philosophers, it is no wonder if they had the same notion of this Hades, as those ancient philosophers and poets had before. Yet some of them were better instructed, as St. Chrysostom, who says modestly, 'If thou dost ask me (saith he) of the situation and place of Gehenna? I will answer and say, that it is seated somewhere out of this world; and that it is not to be enquired in what place it is situated, but by what means rather it may be avoided.' But St. Gregory Nyssen, in his dialogue between himself and Macrina touching the soul and the resurrection, makes her to answer the question proposed by Gregory in this manner: 'Where[t] is that name of Hades so much spoken of? and which is so much treated of in our common conversation, so much in the writings both of the heathen and our own? into which all men think that the souls are translated from hence as into a certain receptacle? for you will not say that the elements are this Hades.' Whereunto Macrina thus replies: 'It appeareth that thou didst not give much heed to my speech, for when I spake of the translation of the soul from that which is seen unto that which is invisible, I thought I had left nothing behind to be enquired of Hades; neither doth that name, wherein souls are said to be, seem to me to signifie any other thing either in profane writers, or in the holy Scripture, save only a removing unto that which is invisible and unseen.' So likewise Theophylact, and Hugo Etherianus after him, 'What[u] is Hades, or Hell? Some say that it is a dark place under the earth; others say that it is the translation of the soul from that which is visible, unto that which is unseen and invisible. For while the soul is in the body, it is seen by the proper operations thereof; but being translated out of the body it is invisible; and this did they say was Hades.' Hitherto also may be referred the place cited before out of Origen in his fourth book, περὶ ἀρχῶν, which by St. Jerom is thus delivered: 'They[u] who die in this world by the separation of the flesh and the soul, according to the difference of their works, obtain divers places in hell.' Where, by Hades, Inferi, or Hell, he meaneth indefinitely

[t] Works, vol. iii. pag. 378. [u] Ibid. pag. 380.

the other world; in which how the souls of the godly were disposed, he thus declares in another place: 'The soul leaveth the darkness of this world, and the blindness of this bodily nature, and is translated into another world, which is either the bosom of Abraham, as it is shewed in Lazarus, or paradise, as in the thief that believed upon the cross; or yet God knows if that there be any other places, or other mansions, by which the soul that believeth in God, passing and coming unto that river which maketh glad the city of God, may receive within it the lot of the inheritance promised unto the Fathers.' For touching the determinate state of the faithful souls departed this life, the ancient Doctors (as we have shewed) were not so thoroughly resolved."

The Lord Primate having thus shewn in what sence many of the ancient Fathers did understand this word Hades, which we translate hell, proceeds to shew that divers of them expound Christ's descent into hell (or Hades) according to the common law of nature, which extends it self indifferently unto all that die: "For' as Christ's soul was in all points made like unto ours (sin only excepted) while it was joined with his body here in the land of the living: so when he had humbled himself unto the death, it became him in all things to be made like unto his brethren, even in the state of dissolution. And so indeed the soul of Jesus had experience of both: for it was in the place of human souls, and being out of the flesh, did live and subsist. It was a reasonable soul therefore, and of the same substance with the flesh of men, proceeding from Mary. Saith Eustathius the Patriarch of Antioch, in his exposition of that text of the Psalm, 'Thou wilt not leave my soul in hell,' χῶρος τῶν ἀνθρωπίνων ψυχῶν, the place of humane souls, (which in the Hebrew is the world of spirits) and by the disposing of Christ's soul there, after the manner of other souls, concludes it to be of the same nature with other mens souls. So St. Hilary in his exposition of the 138th Psalm, 'This is the law of humane necessity,' saith he, 'that the bodies being buried, the souls should go to hell. Which descent the Lord did not refuse for the accomplishment of a true man.' And a little after he repeats it, that 'de supernis ad inferos mortis lege descendit,' he descended from the supernal to the infernal parts by the law of death. And upon Psal. 53. more fully; 'To fulfil the nature of man, he subjected himself to death;' that is, to a departure as it were of the soul and body; and pierced into

[r] Works, vol. iii. pag. 383. 384.

the infernal seats, which was a thing that seemed to be due unto man."

I shall not trouble you with more quotations of this kind out of several of the ancient Greek and Latin Fathers which he makes use of in this treatise, most of them agreeing in this, that Christ died, and was buried, and that his soul went to that place or receptacle, where the souls of good men do remain after death; which whether it is no more in effect but differing in terms, than to say, he died and was buried, and rose not till the third day: which the Doctor makes to be the absurdity of this opinion, I leave to the judgment of the impartial reader; as I likewise do whether the Lord Primate deserves so severe a censure after his shewing so great learning as he has done, concerning the various interpretations of this word Hades, or Hell, both out of sacred and prophane writers, that it only serves to amaze the ignorant, and confound the learned. Or that he meant nothing less in all these collections than to assert the doctrine of the Church of England in this particular; or, whether Christ's local descent into hell can be found in the Book of Articles which he had subscribed to, or in the Book of Common-Prayer which he was bound to conform to? And if it be not so expressed in any of these, I leave it to you to judge how far Dr. H. is to be believed in his accusation against the Lord Primate in other matters. But I doubt I have dwelt too long upon this less important Article, which it seems was not thought so fundamental a one, but (as the Lord Primate[w] very well observes) Ruffinus in his Exposition of the Creed takes notice, that in the Creed or symbol of the Church of Rome there is not added, he descended into hell; and presently adds, yet the force or meaning of the word seems to be the same, in that he is said to have been buried. So that it seems old Ruffinus is one of those who is guilty of this impertinency (as the Doctor calls it) of making Christ's descent into hell to signifie the same with his lying in the grave, or being buried, tho the same author takes notice that the Church of Aquileia had this Article inserted in her Creed, but the Church of Rome had not, (which sure with men of the Doctor's way, should be a rule to other Churches.) And further Card. Bellarmin noteth (as the Lord Primate confesses) "that St. Augustin in his book, De Fide & Symbolo, and in his four books De Symbolo ad Catechumenos, maketh no mention of this Article,

[w] Works, vol. iii. pag. 341.

when he doth expound the whole Creed five several times. Which is very strange, if the Creed received by the African Church had this Article in it. Ruffinus further takes notice, that it is not found in the symbol of the Churches of the East; by which he means the Nicene and Constantinopolitan Creeds, the latter of which is nothing else but an explanation, or more ample enlargement of the Creed Apostolical." Tho this indeed be not at this day read in the Greek or other Eastern Churches, or so much as known or received in that of the[x] Copties and Abyssines.

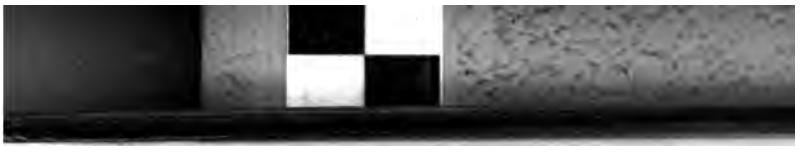
But the Doctor having shown his malice against the Lord Primate's memory and opinions in those points, which I hope I have sufficiently answered, cannot give off so, but in the next section accuses him for inserting the nine Articles of Lambeth into those of the Church of Ireland, being inconsistent with the doctrine of the Church of England. But before I answer this accusation, I shall first premise, that as I do not defend or approve that Bishops, or others, tho never so learned Divines, should take upon them to make new Articles, or define and determine doubtful questions and controversies in religion, without being authorized by the King and Convocation so to do: yet thus much I may charitably say of those good Bishops, and other Divines of the Church of England, who framed and agreed upon these Articles, that what they did in this matter, was sincerely, and as they then believed, according to the doctrine of the Church of England, as either expresly contained in, or else to be drawn by consequence from that Article of the Church concerning predestination. And certainly this makes stronger against the Doctor: for if with him the judgment of Bp. Bilson, Bp. Andrews, and Mr. Noel, in their writings, be a sufficient authority to declare the sence of the Church of England in those questions of Christ's true and real presence in the Sacrament, and his local descent into hell; why should not the judgment and determination of the two Arch-Bishops of Canterbury and York, with divers other Bishops and learned Divines, after a serious debate and mature deliberation, as well declare what was the doctrine of the Church of England in those questions of predestination, justifying faith, saving grace, and perseverance? But it seems with the Doctor, no Bishops opinions shall be orthodox, if they agree not with his own. But to come to the charge it self: the main reason why the Doctor will needs have the Lord Primate to be the cause of

[x] Vid. Jobi Ludolfi, lib 3. c. 5. 19. Hist. Æthiop.

the inserting these Articles of Lambeth into those of Ireland, agreed on in Convocation 1615, is, because the Lord Primate being then no Bishop, but only Professor of Divinity in the Unisity there, and a member of Convocation, was ordered by the Convocation to draw up those Articles, and put them into Latin, as if Dr. Usher could have then such a great influence upon it, as to be able to govern the Church at his pleasure; or that the scribe of any Synod or Council should make it pass what Acts or Articles he pleases; or that one private Divine should be able to manage the whole Church of Ireland, (as the Doctor would needs have him do in this affair.) Whereas the Doctor having been an ancient member of Convocation, could not but know that all Articles after they are debated, are proposed by way of question by the President and Prolocutor of either House, and are afterwards ordered to be drawn into form, and put in Latin by some persons whom they appoint for that purpose; and tho perhaps they might not be themselves in all points of the same opinion with those Articles they are so ordered to draw up; and that Dr. Usher did not hold all those Articles of Ireland in the same sence as they are there laid down, appears from what the Doctor himself tells us in this pamphlet; for p. 116, he saith, "That it was his (viz. the Lord Primate's) doing, that a different explication of the Article of Christ's descent into hell, from that allowed of by this Church; and almost all the other heterodoxies of the sect of Calvin were inserted, and incorporated into the Articles of Ireland." And p. 129, he finds fault with the 30th Article of that Church, "because it is said of Christ, that for our sakes he endured most grievous torments, immediatly in his soul, and most painful sufferings in his body. The enduring of which grievous torments in his soul, as Calvin, not without some touch of blasphemy, did first devise: so did he lay it down for the true sence and meaning of the Article of Christ's descending into hell. In which expression as the Articles of Ireland have taken up the words of Calvin, so it may be rationally conceived that they take them with the same meaning and construction also." But the Doctor owns that this was not the Lord Primate's sence of this Article; for p. 113, aforegoing, he says thus, "Yet he (viz. the Lord Primate) neither follows the opinion of Calvin himself, nor of the generality of those of the Calvinian party, who herein differ from their master; but goes a new way of a later discovery, in which altho he had few leaders, he hath found many followers." But as I shall not take upon me to enter into a dispute

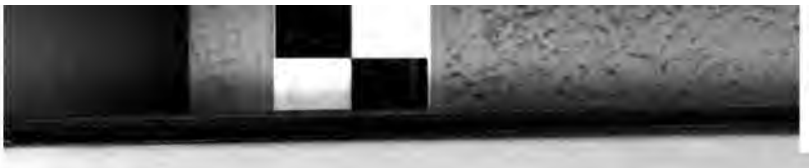
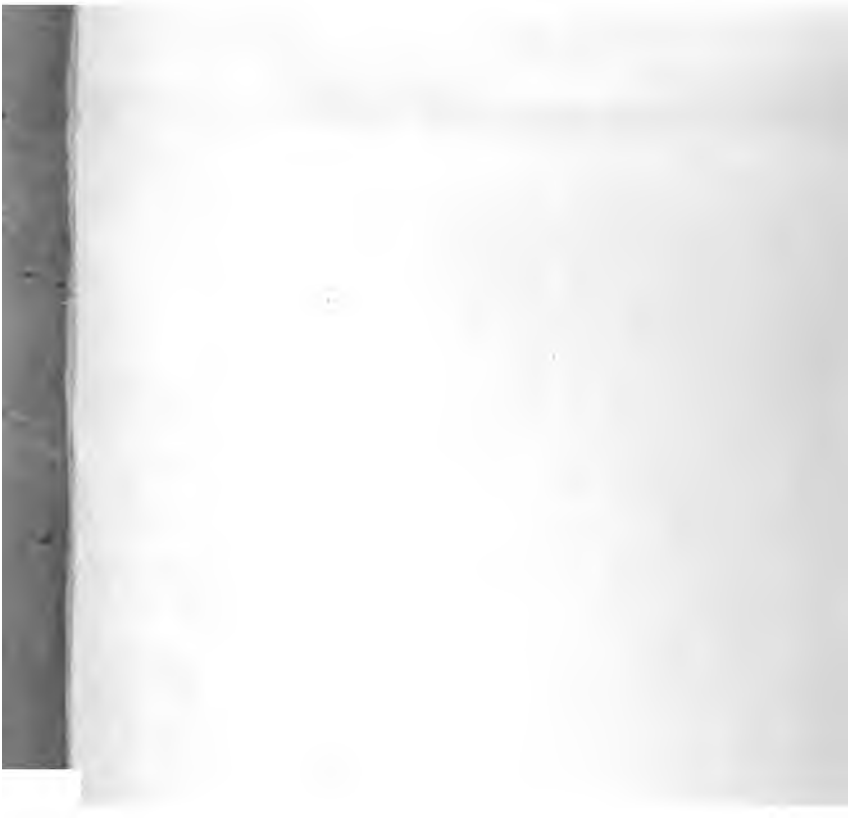
with the Doctor or his followers, in defence of these Irish Articles, and to prove they are not contradictory to those of England, it not being my business; yet I cannot forbear to observe, that it is highly improbable that all the Bishops and clergy of Ireland should incorporate the nine Articles of Lambeth, containing all the Calvinian rigours (as the Doctor calls them) in the points of predestination, grace, free-will, &c. if they had thought they were inconsistent with those of the Church of England, and had not been satisfied that it was the doctrine then held and maintained in those points by the major part of the Bishops and clergy of our Church, as also believed by the King himself, who confirmed them, and certainly would neuer else have sent one Bishop, and three of the most learned Divines within his dominions, to the Synod of Dort, to maintain against the Remonstrants or Arminians, the very same opinions contained in these Irish Articles: but if all those must be counted by the Doctor for rigorous Calvinists that maintain these Articles, and consequently heterodox to the Church of England, I desire to know how he can excuse the major part of our Bishops in Queen Elizabeth and King James's reign, and a considerable part of them during the reigns of the two last Kings of blessed memory (some of whom are still living) from this heterodoxy. And if all men must be guilty of Calvinism, who hold these opinions concerning predestination, grace, and free-will; then the most part of the Lutherans (who differ very little from Calvin in these points) must be Calvinists too. Nor are these points held only by Protestants, but many also of the Church of Rome hold the same, as witness the Jansenists, and also the Order of the Dominicans, who come very near to Calvin in the doctrines of predestination, &c. and are as much opposed by the Jesuits, as the Arminians are by the Antiremonstrants in Holland. But perhaps the Doctor may make St. Augustin a Calvinist too, since he is much of the same opinion with the Lord Primate in most of these points against the Pelagians.

Having now I hope vindicated the Lord Primate from these unjust accusations of his differing from the Church of England in matters of doctrine, I now come to answer his aspersions upon the Lord Primate in lesser matters; and that you may see how unjustly he seeks out a quarrel against him, he makes it a crime in him, because those who were aspersed with the names of Puritans made their addresses to him by letters, or visits, and because he was carress'd and feasted by them where-ever he



came, (as the Doctor will have it) as if the Lord Primate had no other perfections but his asserting those Calvinian tenets.

Then he goes on to tax the Lord Primate with inconformity to the rules and orders of the Church of England in several particulars: but with how great want of charity, and with how many malicious inferences and reflections, without any just grounds, I leave to the impartial reader who will give himself the trouble to peruse that pamphlet, many of those passages being cull'd here and there out of Dr. Bernard's treatise, entitled The late Lord Primate's Judgment, &c. without ever considering what went before, or what followed after; and without taking notice that several things enjoined in the Canons of the Church of England had no force or obligation in that of Ireland, where those Canons were not yet subscribed to, or received: and consequently such ceremonies as were by them enjoined, being in themselves indifferent, as the Church declares, it had been singularity in him to have observed them there, and much worse to have imposed them upon others: for it is truly said of him by Dr. Bernard, "that he did not affect some arbitrary innovations, (not within the compass of the rule and order of the Book of Common-prayer) and that he did not take upon him to introduce any rite or ceremony upon his own opinion of decency, till the Church had judged it so." p. 147. What the Lord Primate's behaviour was in England in relation to some of these ceremonies of lesser moment, either to the peace or well-being of the Church, the Lord Primate needs no apology, he having reason enough for what he did, if he conformed himself no further than the Doctor would have him. But to give one instance for all of the Doctor's want of charity towards the Lord Primate; Dr. Bernard having asserted his conformity to the Discipline, Liturgy, and Articles of the Church of England, . . . "and that many of those who were called Puritans, received such satisfaction from him, as to concur with him in the above-said particulars." The Doctor immediately makes this remark: "For this (says he) might very well be done, and yet the men remain as unconformable to the rules of the Church (their kneeling at the Communion only excepted) as they were before." Now what other rules of the Church the Doctor means I know not, since I always thought that whoever had brought over a Lay-Nonconformist to conform to the service and orders of the Church, had done a very good work; and I know not when that is done, what is required more to make him a true son of the Church of England.

But I shall say no more on this ungrateful subject, since I doubt not but the Lord Primate's great esteem and reputation is too deep rooted in the hearts of all good men, to be at all lessened by the Doctor's hard reflections; tho I thought I could do no less than vindicate the memory of so pious a Prelate, since many ordinary readers, who were not acquainted with this good Bishop, or his writings, may think Dr. H. had cause thus to find fault with him. So avoiding all invidious reflections upon the Reverend Doctor, long since deceased, I shall now conclude, heartily wishing that whatever he hath written, or published, had never done any more prejudice to that Church which he undertook to serve, than any of those writings or opinions of the Lord Primate's, which he so much finds fault with.

END OF THE FIRST VOLUME.